THE HISTORY

OF THE

BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT,

NOW THE

ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS,

AND

HOW IT HELPED TO WIN INDIA.

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL P. R. INNES,

Late of the 1st Bengal European Regiment.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

"Heaven's Light Our Guide."

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DEDICATED TO

THE ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS,

IN GLORIOUS MEMORY OF

THEIR ILLUSTRIOUS ORIGIN,

THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT,

OF WHOSE

HONOUR, FAME, AND DECORATIONS

THEY ARE THE

INHERITORS AND TRUSTED GUARDIANS.

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE placed on record the services of "The Bengal European Regiment," in order that the inheritors of it's fame and trophies may for all time bear in grateful memory it's gallant exploits; which in so large a degree have conduced to the civilization, peace, and security of millions of Her Imperial Majesty's subjects.

The names of Clive, Warren Hastings, and Eyre Coote, are well known to history; those of Herbert Edwardes, Hodson, and Cavagnari, are household words; but there still remains a long list of heroes, both amongst the Officers and Rank-and-File, whose actions were as noble, and whose endurance was as great, though their valorous deeds have not been so prominently recorded. All their names it has been my endeavour to indelibly preserve.

In fulfilling this sacred trust, I owe my hearty thanks to all those who have afforded me their kindly aid; to the Secretary of State for India, who has

courteously allowed me free access to the archives of his Office; to Major John Henry Barnard, C.M.G., of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, who devoted much time and labour to research in the Adjutant-General's Office in Bengal; to my brother Officers, who have furnished me with valuable information and details of personal experience, not otherwise obtainable: thus encouraging me to further and perpetuate this important record.

Lastly, I have been desirous to rescue from oblivion the glorious name of "The Bengal European Regiment," the last remnant of which, in July, 1883, disappeared from the Official Army List.

P. R. INNES.

11, Cheniston Gardens,
Kensington,
6th February, 1885.

WAR SERVICES

OF THE

BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

WAR SERVICES OF "THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT."

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Kanda canal were 29.1 miles. These pipes supply 8,000 wells. The engineer of the Tôkiô *Fu* had designed works in modern style to supply, not only the parts which were now supplied, but also the parts lying beyond the Sumida river and south of the castle. He proposed building reservoirs in the city and raising water to the high points by steam power. The city was spread over so much ground that the cost must be unusually large. Mr. Atkinson's paper showed the necessity of improving and extending the present system, and, if no other plan was possible, it was doubtless the duty of the authorities to go to the great expense of carrying out the engineer's plan.

Dr. Faulds said he had to express his thanks for Mr. Atkinson's valuable researches, the accuracy of which on some points he believed he was able to confirm from observations made in another field of study and by quite different methods. He had shown that in Odawara-chô and in Suruga-dai districts the water was exceptionally impure. With the first named district he was exceedingly familiar, and medical experience had not only led him to form independently the same opinion as Mr. Atkinson, in regard to the organic impurities of the water, but several groups of cases had been carefully traced up to an evident origination from particular wells in that district. He was not quite prepared on the evidence before the meeting to accept as final the very ingenious and suggestive explanation proposed by Mr. Atkinson, for the ascertained fact of the increasing impurity of the water supply as it neared its final outlet. Where actual holes did not exist he questioned if diffusion through the water-logged sides of the wooden main would suffice to explain altogether the extensive contamination that seemed to take place This part of the investigation seemed still to require experimental verification, but meanwhile he would venture to suggest a very much simpler explanation. The wells, as he had seen from examination of certain apparently poisoned ones, were supplied by a bamboo pipe leading off from the main which was always pervious and immersed in the water of the well. Now if any impurity should enter the well, it seemed to him that part of it would naturally regurgitate by the open supply pipe into the main, and thence be distributed in a highly scientific manner, though perhaps too diluted to be markedly injurious, over the remaining area of supply. An example of the danger thus arising may be interesting. Two people living in Odawara district, near the outlet of that supply which Mr. Atkinson showed to become progressively impure, sickened suddenly of cholera and died in a few hours. He found that both had drunk out of one well and out of that well alone. This well was connected with the main in the manner he had described. Its walls were decayed and admitted visibly of leakage. Separated by a few inches only was a deep trench filled with putrid stagnant filth from the houses, which had not, an official told him, been cleaned for years. The lining of this gutter was of decayed wood also. A few feet along, and *leaking visibly* into the gutter, was a public

urinal and privy—not cleaner than the average ones in the slums of Tôkiô. Some of the filth from that place must almost certainly have got into the well, and from thence he thought into the main again. That this water, after all, was not to every one absolutely poisonous, was shown by the fact that the minor official accompanying him, who differed somewhat from his estimate of the safety of this arrangement, took a good draught of this beverage and he was happy to say survived. The danger, on the other hand, might be shown from the fact that the adjoining public privy had a very clear history of infection from choleraic discharges, and during an epidemic few of these places can escape infection. Cholera, however, is not the only disease which may thus be propagated. Diarrhœa, dysentery and typhoid are persistently prevalent in this district, and these have a close relation generally to the water supply. Further, typhoid cases seemed to him clearly to have originated by contaminated water from particular wells in this part of the city. Mr. Atkinson's examination of the water at Suruga-dai had yielded results quite as valuable from a medical point of view, and results which to most were quite unlooked for and surprising. He might state, however, that an outbreak of a disease closely related to diphtheria in many of its features seemed to him unmistakeably to originate in Suruga-dai. It spread thence with a pretty clearly connected history of contagion from individual to individual over a large part of Tôkiô; Japanese and foreigners were equally and in several cases fatally affected. It was traced up to Suruga-dai, and with the utmost efforts could not be traced beyond there. As cases are even now appearing of a similar kind, he had had his attention directed very closely to this spot, and had inspected roughly one or two of the wells. The water did not appear very wholesome, certainly, but his doubts were somewhat stifled by the general impression prevailing everywhere that the water in such a situation must be better than in other parts of Tôkiô. The facts laid before the society to night, and arrived at without any knowledge of those he now mentioned, threw back a flood of light on this outbreak. He was aware that this disease had been called diphtheria, but as the characteristic membrane of that disease was wanting in all the cases seen by himself and by Japanese doctors who had spoken to him on the subject, he still hesitated to apply this term to these cases. It was a disease, however, he had no doubt, depending on a microscopic living and growing poison, which could be transferred from one favourable soil to another by water, although it might likely enough avail itself also of other means of diffusion. On one point not alluded to in the paper he would like to make an enquiry. He had been frequently struck with the prevalence of symptoms amongst the Japanese which strongly resemble, and even in some cases exactly simulate, those produced in chronic copper poisoning. Had Mr. Atkinson tested for copper? Of course, if these symptoms are due to copper that might perhaps come from the vessels used for cooking, etc, which are frequently made from [illegible]. Such an accident happened to himself when pass-

'Maiden of Unahi' seemed to him to be its chief charm. He thanked Mr. Chamberlain for having furnished the Society with such an interesting specimen of the early literature of Japan, and trusted that the difficulties and the labour which attend research in this unexplored field would not deter him from continuing a study which promises much good result.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr. Chamberlain begged to bring before the notice of the Society a work by the Revd. John Ross, of Newchwang, entitled "Corean Primer"—the first book, so far as he knew, published by a European in the Corean type He stated that Mr. Ross had sent him some copies for sale in Japan, and that the price was $2 per copy.

THE CASTLE OF YEDO.

BY

THOMAS R. H. McCLATCHIE,

Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the 22nd December, 1877.

Hardly any foreign traveller coming to Yedo can have failed to pay a visit to the Castle, which forms so large a portion of the city itself. Those, in particular, who have had the good fortune to visit it prior to the recent extinction of the feudal system hitherto prevailing in Japan, cannot fail to have been struck by the scenes that there met their view. The long lines of *Daimiôs'* mansions, with swarms of two-sworded retainers about the doors,—the broad streets, along which the trains of the various nobles, with brave following of horse and foot, were constantly passing to and fro,—and the stately towers and buildings of the Castle palace itself, appearing from amidst the trees in the centre of the lines of defence composed of wide moats, stone bastions, and massive gateways,—all formed a sight which, once seen, was never to be forgotten. And although, of later years, its glory has sadly departed, the towers and out-buildings well-nigh disappeared, and many of the gateways been completely demolished, there yet remains much to interest the antiquary. The broad causeways running along the sides of moats covered in the autumn months with lotuses in full bloom

and in the winter time teeming with wild-fowl,—the stone-faced embankments,—the noble trees and beautiful gardens, still exist, to tell the tale of former greatness, and to carry back the thoughts of the visitor to the olden times when the Shôgun held his Court in the present metropolis of Japan. The Castle of Yedo will always be one of the most interesting localities in the city, and therefore the following notes relating to its foundation and subsequent history may not be unacceptable.

As, in the course of this paper, constant reference must necessarily be made to the various gateways of the Castle, each of which possesses a special name, it is perhaps as well to call attention in the first place to the accompanying plan of the whole enclosure. This plan, with the exception of the very central portion, has been copied from a large map of the city of Yedo published some years back and finally revised in 1852, so that it may be taken as representing the ground-plan of the Castle as it existed immediately prior to the commencement of Japan's nearer intercourse with foreign nations. It was not permitted to publish in any map the plan of the central line of defences, but a bird's-eye view of the Castle as painted on an old screen from the former Shôgun's palace at Kiôto, together with personal observation of the works still standing, have supplied the deficiency, and this plan may therefore be accepted as correct. The course of the moats is here laid down, and the sites of the *yashikis*, or mansions of the nobles, are also marked, with various minor particulars. Each gateway is numbered, and these numbers correspond to the names given in the following list, only a few of the entrances to the palace itself being doubtful.

List of Gates in Yedo Castle.

1 *a.* (?) *Naka no Go-mon*..... or, Central Gate.
1 *b.* *Naka Suzume Go-mon*.. „ Central Sparrow Gate.
1 *c.* (Name unknown.)
2. (?) *Ôté-san-no Go-mon*.... „ 3rd Chief Gate.
3. (?) *Ôté-naka Go-mon*..... „ Middle Chief Gate.
4. *Hasu-iké Go-mon*..... „ Lotus-pool Gate.

5.	*Nishi hané-bashi Go-mon*..	„	Western draw-bridge Gate.
6.	*Kita hané-bashi Go-mon*..	„	Northern draw-bridge Gate.
7.	*Bairin-zaka Go mon*.....	„	Plum-forest steps Gate.
8.	*Ôté Go-mon*.....	„	Chief Gate.
9.	*Hirakawa-guchi Go-mon*..	„	Hirakawa Gate (named from district.)
10.	*Také bashi Go-mon*.....	„	Bamboo Bridge Gate.
11.	(Name unknown)		
12.	*Momiji-yama Go-mon*.....	„	Maple Mount Gate.
13	*Nishi-maru o ura Go-mon*.	„	Rear Gate to the Western Enclosure (as opposed to the Chief Enclosure of the castle).
14.	*Saka-shita Go-mon*.....	„	Gate below the steps.
15.	*Uchi Sakurada Go-mon*, (also called *Kikyô Go-mon*, after the name of a certain flower).	„	Inner Sakurada Gate (district).
16.	*Nishi-maru Ôté Go-mon*...	„	Chief Gate of Western Enclosure.
17.	Apparently unnamed; but this, and the one immediately preceding, are together known as the *Ni-jiu-bashi*	„	Double Bridge.
18.	(Name unknown).		
19.	*Soto Sakurada Go-mon*...	„	Outer Sakurada Gate (district).
20.	*Hanzô Go-mon*.....	„	Hanzô Gate (person's name).
21.	*Tayasu Go-mon*.....	„	Tayasu Gate (named after one of the "Three Noble Families,"—*Go-san-kiô*—allied to the Tokugawa clan).

22. *Shimidzu Go-mon*..... „ Shimidzu Gate (after another of the *Go-san-kiô*).
23. *Kiji-bashi Go-mon*..... „ Pheasant Bridge Gate.
24. *Hitotsubashi Go-mon* ..... „ Hitotsubashi Gate (after the third of the *Go-san-kiô*).
25. *Watagura Go-mon*..... „ Watagura Gate (district).
26. *Baba-saki Go-mon*..... „ Gate before the race-course.
27. *Hibiya Go-mon*..... „ Hibiya Gate (district).
28. *Sukiya-bashi Go mon*..... „ Sukiya Bridge Gate (district).
29. *Kaji-bashi Go-mon*..... „ Blacksmith's Bridge Gate.
30. *Gofuku-bashi Go-mon* .... „ Gofuku Bridge Gate (street).
31. *Tokiwa-bashi Go-mon*..... „ Everlasting Bridge Gate.
32. *Kanda-bashi Go-mon*..... „ Kanda Bridge Gate (district).
33. *Yama-shita Go-mon*..... „ Gate below the hill.
34. *Saiwai-bashi Go-mon*..... „ Good-luck Bridge Gate.
35. *Atarashi-bashi* ..... „ New Gate.
36. *Tora no Go-mon*..... „ Tiger Gate.
37. *Akasaka Go-mon* ..... „ Akasaka Gate (district).
38. *Kui-chigai Go-mon*..... „ Crooked Gate.
39. *Yotsuya Go-mon*..... „ Yotsuya Gate (district).
40. *Ichigaya Go-mon*... ..... „ Ichigaya Gate (district).
41. *Ushigomi Go-mon* ..... „ Ushigomi Gate (named after a *Daimiô*).
42. *Koishikawa Go-mon*... .... „ Koishikawa Gate (district).
43. *Suidô-bashi* ..... „ Aqueduct Bridge.

44. *Shôhei-bashi*..... „ Shôhei Bridge (named after a place in China).
45. *Suji-kaë Go-mon*..... „ Slanting Gate (from structure of bridge outside).
46. *Idzumi-bashi*..... „ Idzumi Bridge (from the title of a *Daimiô*).
47. *Atarashi-bashi*..... „ New Bridge.
48. *Asakusa-bashi Go-mon*.... „ Asakusa Bridge Gate (district).

The above is a list of the gates as they stood in recent times; but it must not be supposed that these have always existed, nor that the castle enclosure was in olden days of the same wide dimensions as at present. This large total has been obtained by many an addition to the original number, which was very small indeed. And this remark leads us back to the consideration of the earliest days of the Castle's existence.

The foundation of the Castle of Yedo was laid in the year 1456 A.D., during the reign of the 103rd Emperor of Japan, Go-Hanazono (1429-1464). The founder was Ôta Saëmon no Taiyu Mochisuké, commonly known as Ôta Dôku'an, a famous warrior of his age, and a chief retainer of the Uyésugi family, which at that time held supremacy in the east of Japan,—a member of it, named Uyésugi Sadamasa, being one of the then *Ku'anrei* or Governors of Kamakura, under the Ashikaga Shôgunate. Both Ôta Dôku'an and his father, Ôta Dôshin, seem to have possessed considerable skill in the construction of fortifications, and the castles of Kawagoyé and Iwatsuki,—both situated in the province of Musashi, some thirty miles to the north-west of Yedo,—are also stated to have been their respective handiwork. Some few Japanese authors assert indeed that Dôshin, and not Dôku'an, was the founder of the castle of Yedo, but these writers are decidedly in the minority, for nearly every work in which mention is made of the subject gives the younger Ota the credit of the foundation.

In particular, a book entitled *Shiudzu Gak'hetsu-ki,* (主圖合結記) which specially treats of Japanese fortifications, holds this view. Dôku'an's own residence was at Goten-yama, the rising ground in the rear of the present suburb of Shinagawa. He was stationed in this spot by the Kamakura authorities in order to guard against any attack from the East, during the troublous times then prevailing in this part of Japan. Round Shinagawa he placed a chain of small look-out stations, and the site of one of these, a lofty mound, still remains in the grounds of a *yashiki* formerly belonging to a *Daimiô* named Toki Iyo no Kami, at Takanawa,—till recently occupied by the British Legation. An inscription on a stone placed on the mound narrates this fact, and states that the name of the locality was changed to Kato by Dôku'an. But the skilful General could not but perceive the immense superiority of the present site over that which he then occupied. The numerous rivers here flowing into the Bay of Yedo afforded great facility for communication with the interior and for the transport and shipment of produce, and he was not slow in determining to erect a fresh castle higher up the coast. Only a few houses of fishermen then lined the beach, and for miles and miles inland stretched the wide plain of Musashi, covered only with reeds and sedge. The place was admirably adapted for making a stand against any army advancing from the East, and we find it recorded as a fact that in later times, whenever war broke out in this part of the country, the first care of the Commandant of Yedo Castle was to throw forward a detachment of troops to the bank of the branch of the Tonégawa which flows into Yedo Bay, in order to prevent the enemy from crossing that river. If successful in the field, these troops could inflict a severe check upon the advancing foe; if themselves worsted, they could always fall back on the Castle. Having thus selected a desirable position, Dôku'an forthwith began his work. A small book named "*Ochiboshiu*" (落穗集), which contains various items of interest with regard to the Castle, narrates that he first marked

out, by means of leafy bamboos, the site upon which he purposed to build. Within the space thus enclosed were three small villages, called Chiyota, Takarata, and Iwaita. Dôku'an, on learning this from the villagers, remarked that all these names, as well as those of the department and the province, were words of good omen ; and he hailed this circumstance as a fortunate sign of the future prosperity of his stronghold. It may be noticed, in connection with this, that the Castle was commonly known as "Chiyota Castle" until it passed into the hands of the Tokugawa family a century and a half later on. Dôku'an commenced the work in the year 1456, and completed it on the 8th day of the 4th month in the year following, when he removed to the Castle and took up his residence there. After this the place rapidly increased in importance, and a large town soon rose up beneath the protecting shadow of the Castle walls. The following extract from a work entitled "*Kôtei-ki*" (江亭記), a description of Yedo, published in 1476 (twenty years after the foundation of the Castle and during Dôku'an's lifetime,) gives an idea of the importance at that time deemed to attach to the locality, both from a military and a commercial point of view:

"The Castle of Yedo in the Province of Musashi was "first constructed by Ôta Sakingo Dôku'an. To the east "of the Hakoné Barrier there are few who can rival him. "He has always been the most influential man of his time, "—is both mighty in power and kindly in disposition, and "possessed of numerous accomplishments. During the "disturbances now prevailing, only three of the eight "Barrier provinces submit to the rule of the Sovereign ; "the tranquillity or peril of those three depends on the "state of the province of Musashi alone, while the "tranquillity or peril of that one, again, depends on "the single Castle of Ôta himself. The locality in "which it stands is more prosperous than any other "province, both as regards products of sea and land, and "as being the resort of vessels and wheeled vehicles. "The ramparts around it are over 10 *jô* (*i. e.* 100 feet) in

"height; they are steep and perpendicular, and consist of "firmly built stone walls for a distance of 10 *ri* (1 *ri* = "about 2½ English miles) in circumference. On the out- "side are wide moats and deep ditches, holding a large "quantity of water, but little of which is allowed to flow "by. Huge timbers are thrown across them, so as to "form bridges, kept for purposes of passage in or out. "The gates are of iron, with barriers of stone, the pas- "sage-ways being also paved with the same. If, going "now to the left, and now turning to the right, one ascend "the Castle towers, the pavilion of the lord may be seen "in the midst, and in its rear his actual residence, with "guard-houses on either side. The towers and ramparts, "and the military store-houses or godowns for grain, the "stables, barracks, and other roofed buildings are very "numerous."

It is, of course, difficult to lay down with any great degree of accuracy the limits of the Castle at the time of its first construction, but its dimensions were certainly extremely narrow. From various passages, however, in the "*Yedo Meisho Dzuyé*" or "Pictorial Guide to the celebrated localities of Yedo," and in a small work entitled "*Tonoi-bukuro*," (published in 1839) containing various rules and hints for the guidance of the Castle guards under the Tokugawa régime, it would seem that Ôta Dôku'an's work comprised merely the very central enclosure of all as shown in the plan. In the year 1474, Dôku'an held a poetical meeting in the Castle, at which sixteen guests of literary renown were present. Many of the verses composed on this occasion are still extant, and that of Dôku'an himself particularly alludes to the view from his fortress. This verse runs as follows:—

"To my hut adjoins a fir-tree plain, and hard by rolls "the sea; the lofty peak of Fuji is seen from below the "eaves."

The "fir-tree plain" to which allusion is here made was a copse of firs inside the spot where the Tayasu Gate now stands; and at the time in question the present

line of moat from the Watagura to the Hibiya Gate was "a sea-beaten beach, with only fishermen's huts thereon." We also read that the "plum-forest" from which the Bairin-zaka Gate afterwards took its name was only planted by Dôku'an four years later, in 1478. With regard to the general appearance of the lines of defence of the Castle, as at first constructed, no definite records have been preserved; but they cannot have been of any extraordinary strength. Without turning off into a dissertation upon Japanese fortifications in general, it may here be observed that, from the native works treating of this subject, it may be gathered that the ancient style of defences for strongholds in this country was very similar to that of the old Roman camps. First, a wide and deep ditch was dug; the earth thus displaced was then thrown up on the inside of the ditch, so as to form a firm embankment; and on the summit of this was placed a slight superstructure or rampart of wattled stakes. The entrance-gates were built of solid timbers, with heavy wooden doors, and were usually surmounted by a small platform whence archers could discharge their shafts. The description of the Castle as above quoted would therefore seem to be couched in rather more flowery terms than were warranted by the actual extent and appearance of the structure.

For more than a century after its foundation, the neighbourhood of the Castle was the theatre of civil war. The interminable feuds existing between the powerful families of the Ku'antô (the name given to the eight provinces east of the Hakoné barrier) kept this part of Japan in a state of anarchy, and all through this troublous period the Castle garrison played a conspicuous part. In 1477 Ôta Dôku'an was recalled to Kamakura, where military operations demanded his attention, and during his short absence Uyésugi Tomomasa, Miura Yoshiatsu, and Chiba Yoritané, all vassals of the Uyésugi family, acted as Commandants. In the year 1486, hostilities broke out between Uyésugi Akisada and Uyésugi Sadamasa,—Dôku'an's lord,—and some secret emissaries of

the former contrived to slander the general to such an extent that Sadamasa ordered him to be put to death, and committed the Castle to the custody of one Soga Bungo no Kami. Next to him, Sadamasa's two sons, Tomoyoshi and Tomoöki, were in command. About this period, however, what was styled the "Later Hôjô" family was rising to supremacy in the Ku'antô, and in 1524 the Castle was attacked and taken by Hôjô Ujitsuna, when the above-named Tomoöki was completely routed, and fled away to the Castle of Kawagoyé. This is the only instance on record of Yedo Castle having sustained a siege.

The Castle remained in the hands of the Hôjô for many years later. This family, however, established their chief seat at the town of Odawara, not at Yedo, and the latter place was held by their retainers during the "four generations" of the house of Hôjô. These retainers belonged to the two families of Tôyama and Tominaga, and their command lasted until 1590. Several additions would appear to have been made to the Castle enclosure during this period, and to these reference is made later. There has, moreover, come down to modern times a copy of a diary kept by one Soboku, a famous poet; he describes therein a visit paid by him to Yedo in 1545, and the kind reception he met with at the hands of the Commandant, Tôyama Kai no Kami, who, amidst all the confusion of his preparations for an expedition against the province of Shimôsa, yet found time to entertain his guest, and to challenge him to a friendly contest of verse-making. Soboku also met here one Ôta Echizen no Kami, probably a descendant of the illustrious founder of the Castle.

In 1590, the family of Hôjô was overthrown, and the town of Odawara taken, by the famous Toyotomi Hidéyoshi, who bestowed upon his General, Tokugawa Iyéyasu, the eight provinces of Ku'antô, directing him at the same time to fix his residence at Yedo. The latter did so, and the Castle was the abode of generation after gene-

ing through Kiôto. In a well known Japanese hotel much frequented by foreigners and well conducted, some soup was presented to him so strongly impregnated with copper salts that it could not be used. It would be interesting, however, to know whether even in the water-supply there may not be a faint trace of copper; perhaps it might be influenced by the rain-fall at the sources from which the water is drawn. He thought Mr. Atkinson deserved the thanks of all for bringing his conclusions so clearly before the Society. Nothing could illustrate the importance of a good, unpolluted water supply so well as the case of London during the cholera epidemic of 1854, and that of a poisoned well in Rochester (U.S.) last year. In a certain district of London two water companies supplied alongside of each other families living under precisely the same conditions, except that the water supplied to the one portion was derived from a higher reach of the Thames than the other and was much freer from sewage. Amongst these people the mortality from cholera was very slight. The water of the other company, drawn from a source near the city, was therefore impure from entrance of sewage. The families who used this water suffered to an extraordinary degree, and only one explanation seems available. The case of Rochester was similar but only one particular well was suspected. The illnesses among families who partook of its water were very numerous, while those living in the same neighbourhood, but using other wells, almost entirely escaped. It was now believed that many of those diseases which are so far spreading and fatal are due to the growth and diffusion of living seeds or germs, far too minute in many cases to be seen by any microscopic power we have yet been able to obtain, but some of them have been seen and others may yet be. It was, meanwhile, a safe and practical conclusion that water which was contaminated with filthy and infectious matter, might serve to transport far and wide these minute living sources of disease and death.

Dr. Divers wished to congratulate the author of the paper on the opportunity that had been afforded him for making a comprehensive investigation into the nature of the water supply of the city, and on the thoroughness with which he had availed himself of it. His own experience had been very limited, but he might mention that the results which he had obtained with the water at Tora-no-mon supplied to the Engineering College, agreed with those of Mr. Atkinson—the quantities of chlorides, ammonia, and nitrites being inconsiderable, and impurities readily oxidizable by acid permanganate solution absent. The non-scientific public were apt to be incredulous as to the significance of such small quantities of impurities as the chemist found in potable waters, but the experience of medical men had placed it beyond reasonable doubt. Respecting the quantities of nitrates and nitrites in waters, a statement had lately been made in England by Professor Lunge to the effect that by the method usually followed, and just described by Mr. Atkinson to

the meeting, the amounts of these substances were under-estimated. Water was sometimes found, in summer time especially, to acquire an unpleasant taste, which excited distrust as to its wholesomeness, but this taste was often due only to the presence of minute quantities of substances derived from vegetable mould, and had not the evil significance attached to evidence of animal contamination of the water. He thought it quite possible that the water supplied through wooden pipes might become contaminated in its course by diffusion, through the joints of the pipes, if not through the substance of the wood. Although not connected with the subject of water-supply, still as bearing upon the dissemination of disease, he might point out the possible dangers of the careless and offensive method of portage of ordure from the city to the country districts. Direct experiments with chemical solutions in a state of effervescence had proved, that during the putrefaction of liquid ordure, particles must become suspended in the air and remain so for a considerable time, and thus be liable to be carried to great distances by the movements of the atmosphere.

After some observations from Mr. Ayrton and Dr. Veeder: Mr. Atkinson briefly replied to some of the remarks made by previous speakers. He had attempted to gain some information respecting the parts of Tôkiô considered to be healthy or unhealthy, but had failed to get anything very definite. It was generally agreed that the districts of Yotsuya and Koishikawa were healthy, as well as Suruga-dai, whilst Honjo was considered to be unhealthy. That Suruga-dai should be a healthy district was contrary to the conclusions drawn from the analyses of the water, and Mr. Atkinson, therefore, felt gratified that his results were corroborated by Dr. Faulds, especially as his opinion was derived from utterly different observations. With respect to the pollution of the water being caused by infiltration into the wells and not by diffusion through the pipes, Mr. Atkinson considered that although regurgitation would probably occur, yet its extent would scarcely be sufficiently great to cause any very marked increase of impurity, and pointed again to the circumstance that the amount of impurity increased as the distance traversed by the water was greater, whereas, if the contamination took place in the well itself, the distribution would be irregular.

The President closed the meeting by remarking on the deep interest of the subject, and the useful manner in which it had been treated by Mr. Atkinson and those members who had joined in the discussion. The former had clearly demonstrated in his paper how important it was to the health of the people of this large city, that they should be furnished with better water than that which they now drink, while Mr. Chaplin had given most interesting details respecting the history and working of the present water system of Tôkiô. He had also shewn that an ample supply of the purest water was within easy reach, and that it was only owing to

imperfect mechanical arrangements that such water was not conveyed from that fine stream—the Tamagawa—to the doors of the people entirely free from contamination. Allusion had been made in the paper to the new water-works of Glasgow, which were believed to be the most successful enterprise of the kind yet executed in the United Kingdom. These works had been laid out on a scale which would admit of a daily supply of fifty millions of gallons being furnished to a population of about 450,000, though twenty-six millions of gallons had been found sufficient to meet their wants. Mr. Chaplin had informed us that one hundred and fifty millions of gallons were drawn off daily from the Tamagawa, a fifth of which, however, was only brought to Tôkiô, and supplied to 350,000 people, or less than half of the population of the city. It would be seen, therefore, that the present supply from the Tamagawa, having regard to the number of people who used it, was on a scale scarcely inferior to that of Glasgow, although the large manufactories of that city created a particular demand that was not known at Tôkiô. As the supply from the Tamagawa could be increased to five times its present amount there was no question as to its sufficiency, and the only difficulty which lay in the way of placing Tôkiô in as good a position, probably, as any other city in the world, appeared to be the cost of substituting iron pipes for the existing defective wooden ducts. The estimate of a million and a half of dollars was a serious outlay, however, for the Japanese Government to have to face, and if the Committee of members who had undertaken to pursue the investigation of the subject could suggest any means for reducing this estimate without detriment to the quality of the water, they would render an important service to the Government and to the people of Tôkiô. He was glad that such a practical subject had been brought before the Society, and he particularly recommended it to the attention of the members.

Dr. Faulds hoped that experiments might be carried out to put to the test Mr. Atkinson's theory of contamination by diffusion, and he suggested that Mr. Atkinson, Dr. Divers, and Mr. Chaplin should be asked to give the subject their attention.

The President thought the suggestion a good one, and proposed that Dr. Faulds be added to the number, and that the Committee have full power to add to their number.

The meeting was then adjourned.

THE MAIDEN OF UNAHI.

BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN, Esq.

Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the 8th December, 1877.

It would seem natural to suppose that, in proportion as a land is strange and distant and but little known, so should it be easy, when once the key to its literature has been obtained, to draw forth therefrom treasures new and old, the European interpreter being confronted by no other difficulty than that of choice among such a superabundance of materials. This natural supposition, however, like many other natural suppositions, is not substantiated in practice. Just as it were vain to attempt to argue with one whose fundamental assumptions are diametrically opposed to a man's own, so is it well-nigh impossible to find anything that would be suitable to an English audience among the mountainous masses of a literature, which, like that of Japan, is swayed by canons of taste in all essentials different to those that rule the prose and poetry of Europe. What, for instance, save weariness could result from the consideration of a story whose point lies in a reference to some older tale, itself, perhaps, owing its interest to circumstances and conditions, which, however familiar to the natives, would have to be laboriously explained in order to make them at all comprehensible to the European reader? Or, again, how could a European

appreciate a stanza of poetry that derives all its piquancy from some untranslatable play upon words? And so it goes on, to the end of the chapter: plays upon words, allusions, apparent want of point, the pourtrayal of a state of manners, deeply interesting in itself, but stamped by peculiarities that render it unfit for discussion in our more prudish tongue, and a score of other ever-recurring characteristics must necessarily continue to keep nine-tenths—perhaps I should rather say ninety-nine hundredths—of the literature of this country a sealed book to such as are debarred from studying it in the original; and he who would attempt to give his countrymen some notion of the way in which this people write, of the mental atmosphere in which they live, turns away disheartened from almost every book that had at first sight seemed a promising field for translation.

The "Yamato-Monogatari," or "Tales of Japan"—one of the best known classics of this country,—are a case in point. The date of their composition, though not known with accuracy, is generally placed in the tenth century,*—a conclusion which there seems no reason to doubt, as it has both tradition and internal evidence in its favour; and the almost childlike simplicity of the style, and, above all, the purity of the diction, must ever make the work worthy the attention of the student of the standard literature of Japan. When we come, however, to analyze its contents, and to reject such of them as are rendered unfit for translation by one or other of the peculiarities above referred to, scarcely anything remains,—nothing, perhaps, save two or three very simple love-stories recorded in its latter part. It is with one of these old-world love-stories, as given in the pages of the "Yamato-Monogatari," and as likewise forming the theme of two or three of the poems of the very ancient "Mañefushifu" collection, that this paper is concerned. Reversing the chronological

* One old tradition ascribes its composition to Kuwa-zan-in (the posthumous name of the Mikado Kuwa-zan, who abdicated A.D. 986); and another to the 3rd son of the celebrated poet Arihara no Narihira, called Arihara no Shigeharu, who flourished at the end of the ninth (and beginning of the tenth?) century.

order, the later development of the story shall be given first, and then the earlier poetical version, dating probably from early in the 8th century. The story is believed to be, in the main, historical; and the maiden of Unahi's tomb, which is called the *Wotome-dzuka*, or more commonly, but improperly, *Motome-dzuka*, is said to be still shewn somewhere between Kaube and Ohosaka, though I may state that, on the occasion of a hurried visit to that part of the country, I was unable to discover it. Possibly, in this, as in so many other instances, the railway has obliterated the traces of the past.

The account given in the "Yamato Monogatari" is as follows:—

In days of old there dwelt a maiden in the land of Setsutsu, whose hand was sought in marriage by two lovers. One, Mubara by name, was a native of the same country-side; the other, called Chinu, was a native of the land of Idzumi. The two were alike in years, alike in face, in figure and in stature; and, whereas the maiden thought to accept the wooing of him that should the more dearly love her, lo! it fell out that they both loved her with the same love. No sooner faded the light of day, than both came to do their courting, and when they sent her gifts, the gifts were quite alike. Of neither could it be said that he excelled the other, and the girl meanwhile felt sick at heart. Had they been men of lukewarm devotion, neither would ever have obtained the maiden's hand; but it was because both of them, day after day and month after month, stood before the cottage-gate and made evident their affection in ten thousand different ways that the maiden pined with a divided love. Neither lover's gifts were accepted, and yet both would come and stand, bearing in their hands gifts. The maiden had a father and a mother, and they said to her: "Sad is it for us to have to "bear the burden of thine unseemly conduct in thus care- "lessly from month to month and from year to year caus- "ing others to sorrow. If thou wilt accept the one, after "a little time the other's love will cease." The maiden made answer: "That, likewise was my thought. But

"the sameness of the love of both has made me altogether "sick at heart. Alas! what shall I do?"

Now, in olden days, the people dwelt in houses raised on platforms built out into the river Ikuta.† So the girl's father and mother, summoning to their presence the two lovers, spake thus: "Our child is pining with a love "divided by the equal ardour of your worships. But "to-day we intend, by whatever means, to fix her choice. "One of you showeth his devotion by coming hither from "a distant home; the other is our neighbour, but his love "is boundless. This one and that are alike worthy of our "pitying regard." Both the lovers heard these words with respectful joy; and the father and mother continued: "What we have further in our minds to say is this: "floating on our river is a water-bird. Draw your bows "at it; and to him that shall strike it, will we have the "honour to present our daughter." "Well thought!" replied the lovers twain; and, drawing their bows at the same instant, one struck the bird in the head and the other in the tail, so that neither could claim to be the better marksman. Sick with love, the maiden cried out:

> Enough, enough! yon swiftly flowing wave
> Shall free my soul from her long anxious strife:
> Men call fair Settsu's stream the stream of life,
> But in that stream shall be the maiden's grave! ‡

and, with these words, let herself fall down into the river from the platform that overlooked it.

While the father and mother, frantic with grief, were raving and shouting, the two lovers plunged together into the stream. One caught hold of the maiden's foot and the other of her hand, and the three sank together, and perished in the flood. Terrible was the grief of the girl's

† I have been unable to discover any other traces of this custom.

‡ Here is the original stanza, of which the above does not pretend to be more than a paraphrase:

Sumi-wabinu
Waga mi nage-ten
Tsu no kuni no
Ikuta no kaha ha
Na nomi nari keri.

I have, in the above paraphrase, spelt Settsu as it is pronounced. In the prose text I have, as usual, followed Mr. Aston's system of transliteration.

father and mother as, amid tears and lamentations, they lifted her body out of the water and prepared to give it burial. The parents of the two lovers likewise came to the spot, and dug for their sons graves beside the grave of the maiden. Bnt the father and mother of him that dwelt in the same country-side raised an outcry, saying: "That he who belongs to the same land should be buried "in the same place, is just. Butshow shall it be lawful "for an alien to desecrate our soil?" So the parents of him that dwelt in Idzumi laded a junk with Idzumi earth, in which, having brought it to the spot, they laid their son: and to this day, the maiden's grave stands there in the middle, and the graves of her lovers on either side. Paintings, too, of all these scenes of bygone days have been presented to the former Empress,§ and, moved by the pictures, many persons have composed stanzas of poetry, putting themselves in the place of one or other of the three persons of the story . . . . . (Here follow a number of thirty-one syllable stanzas that are not worth the trouble of translating, and the tale then proceeds thus:) Ceremonial garments, trowsers, a hat, and a sash were placed in a large hollow bamboo-cane, and buried with the one (*i.e.* the native of Unahi), together with a bow, a quiver and a long sword. But the father and mother of the other must have been silly folks, for they prepared nothing in like manner. The "Maiden's Grave" is the name by which the grave is called.

A certain wayfarer, who once passed the night in the neighbourhood of the grave, startled by the sound of fighting, sent his retainers to enquire into the cause thereof. They returned saying that they could hear nothing. But the wayfarer kept pondering on the strange event, and at last fell asleep. Then there rose up before him a blood-stained man, who, kneeling at his side, spake thus: "I "am sorely harrassed by the persecutions of an enemy, "and entreat thee to condescend to lend me thy sword that

§ *Viz.*, (as the commentary called "Yamato-Monogatari-Sou" supposes) the consort of the Emperor Uda, who abdicated A.D. 897, and died A.D. 931.

"I may be revenged on my tormentor." The request filled the wayfarer with alarm; nevertheless, he lent his sword, and, shortly awaking, imagined it to have been but a dream; yet in very truth the sword was missing; and, as he listened attentively, his ear caught the same terrific sound of fighting that had struck it at first. But a brief time elapsed before the spectre re-appeared, and exclaimed exultingly: "By thine honourable assistance have I slain the foe that "had oppressed me during these many years. From "henceforward, I will for ever watch over thy safety." He then told the tale from the beginning to the wayfarer, who, notwithstanding that the whole matter seemed to him to have an ugly look, would have enquired more particularly into the rights of so strange a story. But at that moment, day began to dawn, and he found himself alone. The next morning, from the foot of the grave a stream of blood was seen to flow; and the sword, also, was blood-stained. The tale seems a most uncomfortable one; but I tell it as it was told to me.

The "Mañefushifu" poet, Takahashi no Muraji Mushimaro, differs but little in his version of the story from the author of the "Yamato Monogatari," but still sufficiently to show that the latter was no mere copyist. Here is his ballad:

In Ashinóya dwelt a maid,—
The Maiden of Unái,‖
On whose beauty the next-door neighbours e'en
Might cast no wondering eye;

For they locked her up as a child of eight,
When her hair hung loosely still;
And now her tresses were gathered up,
To float no more at will.

And the men all yearned that her sweet form
Might once more stand revealed,
That was hid from gaze, as in silken maze
The chrysalis lies concealed;

And they formed a hedge around the house,
And "I'll wed her!" they all did cry;
And the Champion of Chínu he was there,
And the Champion of Unái.

‖ The proper spelling is *Unahi*, as given above; but the necessities of rhyme and metre compel me in this place to spell by ear, as in the case of *Setten*.

With jealous love these Champions twain
The beauteous girl did woo:
Each had his hand on the hilt of his sword;
And a full-charged quiver, too,

Was slung o'er the back of each Champion fierce;
And a bow of snow-white wood
Did rest in the sinewy hand of each;
And the twain defiant stood:

Crying: "An 'twere for her dear sake,
"Nor fire nor flood I'd fear!"—
The Maiden heard each daring word,
But spake in her mother's ear:

"Alas! poor silly village-girl!
"What profits me my life?
"I cannot wed the man I love
"While lasts this jealous strife:

"At Hades' cross-road I'll await
"The issue of the fray."—
These secret words with many a tear
She whispered, and passed away.

To the Champion of Chínu, in a dream,
Her face that night was shown;
And he followed the Maid to Hades' shade,
And his rival was left alone,

Left alone,—too late! too late!
He dances in wild despair,
He gnashes his teeth, he screams and he yells,
And gapes at the vacant air:

"But no! I'll not yield!" he fiercely cries,
"I'm as good a man as he!"
And, girding his poniard, he follows after,
To search out his enemy.

The kinsmen, then, on either side
In solemn conclave met,
As a token for ages yet unborn
Some monument for to set,

That men might be telling of their loves
While heav'n and earth shall stand:
So they laid the Maiden in the midst,
And the Champions on either hand.

And I, when I hear the mournful tale,
I melt into bitter tears,
As though the fresh loss of some well-known friend
Had startled my loving ears.

There are in the "Manyefushifu" two other poems on the same subject. One of them, by the later poet Yakamochi,

is scarcely worth quoting, being little else than a repetition of the ballad just given. But the other, also by Takahashi nō Muraji Mushimaro, may perhaps be of interest to the Society. It runs as follows:

THE GRAVE OF THE MAIDEN OF UNÁÏ.

I stand by the grave where they buried
The Maiden of Unái,
Whom the rival village Champions
Did woo so jealously.

The grave should hand down her mem'ry
Till worlds shall be no more,
And men yet unborn shall love her,
And think on the days of yore:

And so, beside the causeway,
They piled up the boulders high,
To last till the clouds that o'ershadow us
Shall vanish from the sky.

And never a traveller passeth,
But stoppeth to turn aside,
And mourn o'er the grave of the Maiden;
And the country-folk, beside,

Ne'er cease from their bitter grieving,
But cluster around her tomb;
And men may still know her and love her,
And bewail the Maiden's doom,

Till, at last, e'en I stand gazing
On the grave where she now lies low,
And muse with unspeakable sadness
On the old days long-ago.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

An ordinary meeting of the Society was held at the Grand Hotel, Yokohama, on Saturday, the 8th December, the chair being occupied by Sir Harry Parkes, the President of the Society.

Mr. Satow said that he wished to explain the inconsistent transliteration of some of the Japanese words contained in his paper on the Introduction of Tobacco, read before the Society on the 10th November. In common with Mr. Aston, and, he might add, several other students of Japanese both in this country and in Europe, he had arrived at the conclusion that in transliterating Japanese each sign of the syllabary should be represented by a separate combination of letters, and that the Japanese spelling should be followed, sign by sign, instead of the system of transliteration by ear being used. While the latter had hitherto been found to be the most convenient for popular uses, the former was of absolute necessity for scientific purposes, under which might be included the translation of Japanese texts, the study of etymology, and the compilation of Grammars and Dictionaries of the written language. In order to carry out this plan more thoroughly he had intended, in accordance with the suggestion of Professor Severini of Florence, to employ 'ñ' to denote ン of the Japanese syllabary, instead of 'n' which had hitherto been used. The letter 'n' was required to represent the initial consonant of the series ナ ニ ヌ ネ ノ, written *na, ni, nu, ne, no*, and should not be used for ン, which was employed in the syllabary to represent a sound which was in most cases originally ム, *mu*. Unfortunately, however, the fount used in printing the Transactions of the Society did not contain an italic 'ñ,' and consequently in several cases '*n*' had unavoidably been substituted for it.

Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain then read his paper entitled "The Maiden of Unahi."

Mr. Satow observed that an interesting point in the paper which had been read was the mention of the ancient practice of burying with persons of importance, articles which might be supposed to be of use to them after death. In this case there were buried ceremonial garments, a bow and arrows, which formed part of the court costume of nobles at the time when the "Yamato Monogatari" was written, and it was quite natural for the author, whether a noble of the court or a Mikado, to attribute such rank to his hero. Notices of this practice were not numerous in Japanese literature, but the contents of some ancient graves which had been opened showed that it was by no means uncommon in early times. Precious stones or beads called *maga tama*, pieces of pottery and earthen images had been

found. The images were substitutes for the living human beings and animals originally buried at the graves of persons of rank. In the Nihoñgi there was a story that at the funeral of a prince named Yamato-hiko no Mikoto all his retainers were buried alive round his grave; that they lived for several days in that condition and that their cries reached the ear of the Mikado, who desired his counsellors to find out some way of abolishing the ancient practice of sacrificing to a dead man those whom he had loved during his life. Subsequently, when the consort of the same Mikado died, he again consulted his chief advisors, as to the means of doing away with what had already been recognised as a bad custom, and by the advice of one of them, named Nomu no Sukune, a hundred workmen in clay were brought from Idzumo, who made clay images of human beings, horses and other things not particularized. It was thereupon decreed that in future clay images should be substituted for the human sacrifices customary up to that time. According to the date given in the Nihoñgi this change would have been made in A.D. 3,, but the chronology of the early Japanese traditions recorded in that book is not to be depended on for exactness.

Mr. J. C. Hall, referring to the metrical versions given in by the paper of the poems from the Mañefushifu, and to others the same hand previously published, warmly commended the good work which Mr. Chamberlain was doing in exhibiting to foreign readers in a worthy setting what, on such competent judgment, must be taken to be amongst the choicest gems of the Japanese lyric muse. Highly as their national poetry was esteemed by the Japanese themselves, however, it seemed at least doubtful if its merits were such as to entitle it to a high place amongst the world's literature. The Japanese, he said, have not a single epic poem, and their drama, judged by European standards, is yet in a rudimentary stage of development. Lyric poetry of a sort, in the primary sense of metre set to a musical accompaniment, they have in their lyric dramas, but in the wider sense of poems expressive of sustained emotion, their lyrics seem scarcely worthy of the name. In fact, the bulk of Japanese poetical literature consists of verses too short, in point of form, to be entitled to be called poems, and in point of matter, too full of conceits and historical, local or other allusions to be capable of effective translation into a foreign tongue.

In reply to some of Mr. Hall's observations, Mr. Chamberlain remarked that it was difficult in speaking of these subjects to bring forward positive proof of assertions made, and that the argument must of necessity often reduce itself to: "You think one way, and I think another." While admitting that the Japanese had neither any epics nor yet any didactic poems, he contended that they had many lyrics of great beauty, and that the poetry of the "*Nou*" (mediæval dramas) was very perfect in its way, referring Mr. Hall for the lyric poetry to the pages of the "Mañefushifu," the "Kokiñshifu," and the other numerous collections forming together the "Ni-

jifu-ichi-dai-shifu." Mr. Chamberlain objected to the word "conceits" as applied to the greater part of the poetical productions of Japan, and, in defence of his opinion touching the lyrical power of some of the poets of this country, quoted (in a translation) a portion of an ode on the "Unsatisfactoriness of Life," by the poet Yamagami no Okura. Mr. Chamberlain also objected to the view that a body of literature must be judged by its adaptability to the purposes of translation or presentation to foreign minds, and held that beauty of form a) beauty necessarily confined to the original) constituted one half, and, perhaps, the better half of its titles to regard. While thus differing from the views conveyed by Mr. Hall's observations, Mr. Chamberlain could not, however, but be sensible of the flattering—the too flattering—manner in which some of these observations had referred to his own knowledge of Japanese literature.

The President observed that whatever might be the poetical merits of Japanese verse, he presumed that the early writings, whether in prose or metre, would be found to possess the special value which attaches to all old literature; that of throwing light on past history and ancient manners and customs, and also of shewing how the language was gradually formed and developed. The Book of Odes and other Classics of China were particularly valuable in these respects, proving, as they did, the high degree of civilization to which that country had attained at a very early date. The tale of the 'Maiden of Unahi' gives us an interesting insight into social life in Japan about a thousand years ago; it treats of the 'old, old story' of love, and shows that the wooing of those days was conducted with a degree of delicacy, fervour and romance, which did credit, he thought, to the Japanese of that age. The curious fancy of the rival lovers not fighting with each other while living, as would probably have been the case elsewhere, but reserving their combat for the grave where they could only disturb their own shades, indicates, perhaps, the respect then felt for the King's peace. The circumstance of the people dwelling in houses raised on platforms built out into the river Ikuta was illustrative of the architecture of those days, and the description of that stream—now wholly choked up and almost obliterated—showed how greatly it had changed since the time of the tale. The burial ceremonies referred to were also instructive; they showed that cremation was not then practised, and that the custom of burying weapons, clothing, etc, with the deceased, was then observed. It would be most interesting to trace the early burial rites of Japan from the time of human sacrifice referred to by Mr. Satow, to the subsequent adoption of clay images, and of paper imitations of articles of use which are still burnt at the grave or placed in coffins in China at this day. Clay images are now found in old tombs in the neighbourhood of Nara and elsewhere. These few points serve to show how much may be learned from tales of this kind, but the purity of the diction of the story of the

position between the morass, D, and a large deep artificial 1804.
tank, E.

The enemy's Cavalry was drawn up in two large compact divisions to the south of the tank, evidently intending to take the British in flank and rear should an attempt be made to advance round the morass. General Fraser now pushed forward his Irregular Horse, with four light guns, to watch and keep in check
November 13th, 1804. the enemy's Cavalry, whilst he brought his Infantry round the southern end of the morass, D; when, emerging on the plain to the south of the Fort, he found himself confronted by large masses of the enemy's Artillery and Infantry, opposing his advance.

Behind and under cover of a village, G, Fraser placed his Infantry in two lines, one immediately in rear of the other, H.M. 76th occupying the centre of the first line, with a Sepahi Battalion on each flank, and the Bengal European Regiment the centre of the second line, also supported by a Sepahi Battalion in the same manner.

The action commenced with a heavy cannonade from the enemy, their field-guns being ranged in lines immediately in front of their Infantry Divisions.

It was now found that the village, G, in front of our two Infantry lines was strongly held by the enemy; whose Infantry, concealed amongst the loop-holed houses, were causing us much annoyance. H.M. 76th with the Sepahi Battalions in our front line advanced, and soon succeeded in driving the enemy from their cover on to their main Army on the plain beyond. The Bengal European Battalion having joined the 76th made a gallant charge on the enemy's Artillery, which had been supporting their Infantry in the village, G, and was at this time pouring its grape-shot and shell on our advancing troops.

To our right at the head of the morass, D, and under cover of a mound, H, a large body of the hostile troops had taken their position, intending to attack our right flank, whilst their Cavalry at the head of the tank would attack our left.

1804. Two Sepahi Battalions with four guns were sent to keep the enemy occupying the head of the morass in check whilst the Bengal European Regiment and H.M. 76th attacked the enemy's leading Batteries, which they carried, capturing their guns, and driving their supporting Infantry back on their second line.

November 13th, 1804. General Fraser now advanced, and, re-forming his Infantry, headed a charge on the enemy's second line of guns and Infantry; but our troops had only advanced a few paces when he was struck by a round shot which carried off his right leg. Our Army was thus at this critical moment deprived of the example and skill of this distinguished General, in whom his soldiers placed such well-deserved confidence.* Colonel Monson now assumed command of the Army.

The second line of the enemy's guns was also captured after a severe fight; their Infantry being driven from line to line for a distance of nearly two miles under the walls of their Fortress behind which they took refuge.

Our Infantry now having no enemy within its grasp, and being severely handled by the heavy guns on the walls of the Fortress, retired to support our Sepahi Battalions employed in keeping the enemy in check at the head of the morass, D, and support was sorely needed; for it was seen that a squadron of the enemy's Horse, having escaped the vigilance of our Irregular Cavalry, had recaptured the first range of the enemy's guns taken by the 76th and the Bengal European Regiment during their advance from the village, G.

The British Regiments now took the guns a second time, driving the Cavalry back on their base; but this success was not achieved without loss; the gallant British Commander being cut down as he headed the charge.

The Bengal European Regiment now arrived to the succour of our Sepahi Battalions at the head of the morass, who had

* General Fraser survived only a few days, he dying in the British camp before Deig.

gallantly maintained their position, keeping in check vastly 1804.
superior numbers of the enemy who brought their 12- and 18-pounders against our light field-guns.

On the arrival of the British reinforcements the Sepahis, hard pressed by the enemy, re-formed, and with the aid of their European comrades charged forward, capturing the mound, H, and driving the enemy into the morass, D, with such precipitancy that his guns were abandoned, and secured by our victorious troops. Great numbers of the enemy, including two of the leading Generals of Holkar's army, perished in the morass, the remnant seeking cover in the Fortress.

November 13th, 1804. Our third Brigade, which had been left in camp to protect our equipage and baggage, seeing that the enemy were retiring within the walls of their Fortress, had marched round the morass and now joined our troops in the field; and our Irregular Cavalry also, having been relieved from their duty of keeping the enemy's Horse in check, joined our Infantry, assisting them in clearing the field and villages of stragglers, and collecting the captured guns, which were sent under escort to our camp. Our Army now bivouacked on the field of battle, strong pickets being placed on the several mounds on the plain to the south of the Fortress.

Although the Battle of Deig lasted but a few hours, the loss of the enemy is stated to have been 2000 killed, including those drowned in the morass. Eighty-seven guns were captured by the British, as well as a large amount of ammunition found in tumbrils abandoned on the field.

Considering the numbers of the small British force our loss was great, 651 Officers and men being killed or wounded; amongst
November 13th, 1804. the latter the following Officers of the Bengal European Regiment, Lieutenants A. Maxton, J. Chatfield, T. Bryant and T. Merriman.

In giving an account of the Battle of Deig, Thorn, in his "Memoir of Lord Lake's Campaigns in India," remarks, "The"

1804. "conduct of the First European Regiment under Lieutenant-"
"Colonel Burnet was in every way worthy of British troops."
"Their example had the happiest effect and was emulated by all"
"the Native troops."

GUZERAT.

The decoration, "Guzerat," was in 1830 placed on the Colours of the Bengal European Regiment as a reward for its services in the Province of Guzerat—Bombay Presidency—in 1803-4; but neither history. the General Orders, nor the records show that the Regiment took any part in that campaign.*

* See Appendix A, Decorations.

SIEGE OF THE FORTRESS OF DEIG.

During the last days of November and the early part of December the British were encamped on the plain to the south of the Fortress of Deig, until the camp was moved to the west, J, in close proximity to the Fortress. 1804. December, 1804.

On the 1st December General Lake, having received the orders of the Supreme Government to reduce the Fortresses within the Burtpore territory, moved his headquarters towards Deig; instructions having been sent to Colonel Don to march from Agra with a battering-train and a large convoy of stores, and join the British camp before Deig with all practicable speed.

On the 15th December General Lake, having assumed command of the British force before Deig, and Colonel Don having arrived with the heavy siege-train, preparations were made for the attack; Colonel Don, with his Division, taking possession of a grove of trees, I, in front of our camp, J, which had been chosen as a position from which to commence our approaches.

Our Pioneers worked with such industry that a trench 300 yards long, with batteries at intervals, had been completed before sunrise on the 16th; and on the 17th the foremost breaching-battery, within 750 yards of the main or "King's Redoubt," A (Shah-bourj) was in a forward state; this redoubt being considered the most assailable point. December 16th, 17th, 1804.

South of the "Shah-bourj," and at a distance of about half-a-mile, was a mud Fort, B, of considerable strength, called Gopal Ghur, which was occupied by the enemy's Matchlockmen, causing considerable annoyance and injury to our working parties.

Our advanced battery mounted six 18-pounders and four 12-pounders; but although a constant fire had been poured on the "Shah-bourj" for several days only a slight impression had been made, and the breaches effected during the day were usually repaired by the enemy during the night.

Another battery, L, now erected nearer to the redoubt, was

December 20th, 1804. completed during the night of the 20th, when three of our 18-pounders opened an enfilading fire on the "Shah-bourj."

The enemy in the meantime had erected counter-batteries, K, judiciously placed under close cover of some rising ground near the walls of the Fortress; a position which could not be reached by our guns.

A cross fire from the enemy's batteries, K, necessitated our erecting additional earthworks on the plain, M, from which our guns soon told with effect.

On the 23rd December a practicable breach had been effected

December 23rd, 1804. in the "Shah-bourj" redoubt, A, and the Commander-in-Chief ordered an attack at half-past 11 o'clock on that night.

Three Columns were ordered to be formed. The centre or main storming-party, under Lieutenant Colonel Macrae, consisted of the flank Companies of the Bengal European Regiment, H.M. 22nd and 76th, with one complete Battalion of Sepahis. The right supporting Column, under Captain Kelly, was formed of 4 Battalion Companies of the Bengal European Regiment and 5 Companies of Sepahis. This Column was ordered to storm the enemy's outworks to the north and west of the "Shah-bourj," and, having carried them, to follow the main storming-party through the breach.

The left Column, composed of 4 Battalion Companies of the Bengal European Regiment and 5 Companies of Sepahis, commanded by Major Radcliffe, was ordered to assault the enemy's outworks to the south and east, and, having carried them, to follow the centre storming-party.

The remainder of the British force formed a reserve, and was stationed on the plain.

The three Columns, in position before midnight, advanced simultaneously soon afterwards.

The centre of Macrae's Column found the plain under the

December 24th, 1804. breach so covered with the *débris* of the broken walls that their progress in the darkness was seriously im-

peded, their movements also being hampered by the continued 1804.
random fire from the batteries above and all around them. The right or Kelly's and the left or Radcliffe's Columns, diverging, first came into action, springing into the enemy's outworks which they soon succeeded in capturing, forcing the enemy to seek cover within the Fortress, and securing the guns, which they spiked.

In the meantime Macrae's Column having with great difficulty crossed the plain formed up for the attack under cover of the walls of the Fortress; and the order to storm the breach having been given by Macrae a rush was made up the incline and the leading files, scrambling over the masses of broken masonry, gained the breach, when a desperate fight for its possession ensued. The first few men who forced their way through the breach were sabred by the enemy, but the rest of the Column quickly following and favoured by the darkness flocked through the breach, and charging forward carried the south-west bastion of the "Shah-bourj." The enemy's Artillerymen showed great courage and determination, fighting with their tulwars against the bayonets of our soldiers; until at last, overpowered, they lay in mangled heaps around their guns.

Kelly's and Radcliffe's Columns now joined Macrae in the captured bastion; and, having re-formed, the main walls of the Fortress, south and west, were attacked, most of the bastions being carried at the point of the bayonet.

The British Columns now formed up inside the walls and steadily advanced towards the Citadel; but under cover of the darkness some of Holkar's troops got round the British line, making a bold attempt to recapture their guns and turn them round on their enemy; but fortunately just at this time the clouds broke and the moon shone out with great brilliancy, enabling the British line to return to the captured bastions, which were a second time wrenched from the grasp of the enemy, and the guns spiked. The reserve was now employed in removing from the enemy's outworks and the "Shah-bourj" the

THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

"Clark Ka Gora."

RANK.	NAMES.	Rank in the		REMARKS.
		Regiment.	Army.	
Colonel	Robt. Rayne	8 Jan., '01	...	On Furlo.
Lieut-Colonel	William Scott ...	21 April, '00	1 June, '98	
,,	—	—		
Major.....	Law Rawstone ...	10 Aug., '01		
,,	George Wilton ...	...	...	Invalid, Tannah Establishment.
Captain	J. Cunningham...	29 May, '00	7 Jan., '96	
,,	Samuel Kelly ...	do.	do.	
,,	T. H Waguelen	10 Aug., '01	do.	
,,	W. G. Palmer ...	22 Aug., '01	do.	
,,	George Downie...	22 Oct., '01	do.	
,,	Peter Littlejohn	...	8 Jan., '98	
,,	John Anderson...	...	do.	
Captain-Lieut.	Thos. Ramsay ...	...	Captn., do.	
Lieutenant ...	H. Blankenhagen	23 April, '97		
,,	T. D. Broughton	30 Oct. ...		
,,	James Smith.....	9 Aug., '98		
,,	Geo. Hammond	—		
,,	John Stewart ...	28 Oct., '99		
,,	George Moore ...	do.		
,,	Anth. Maxtone...	do.		
,,	John Chatfield...	do.		
,,	Edm. Morris	do.		
,,	John R. Smith ...	8 Feb., '00		
,,	Wm. Hy. Wood	29 May ...		
,,	Jem Bryant	do.		
,,	Alex. Hamilton...	do.		
,,	Richd. Higgott	4 Sept.	...	Ramghur Battn.
,,	James Merriman	13 Jan., '01		
,,	William Home ...	10 Aug. ...		
,,	Edm. B. Higgins	8 April, '02		
,,	James Auroil ...	22 Oct. ...		
,,	Foster Walker ...			
,,	Saml. Corbett ...			
,,	Alex. Brown			
Ensign	Thomas Watson	10 Aug., '02	...	Doing duty.
,,	Chance	...	...	Joined immediately after publication.
Adjuta nt.....	Thomas Ramsay.			
Quarter master	John Chatfield.			
Surgeon	John Lamb.			
Assist.- Surgeon	—			

captured guns, which were placed in safety on the plain outside; whilst the storming-Columns again advanced towards the gates of the citadel; which they were preparing to assault, when it was found that, under the apprehension of capture, Holkar's troops had been escaping from the Fortress by the outer gates on the north and east, and having gained the open country were hurrying off in the direction of Bhurtpore. 1804. December 24th, 1804.

When day broke on the morning of the 24th of December, 1804, the British were in full possession of the town and Fortress of Deig.

Our loss amounted to 43 killed and 184 wounded; amongst the latter being Lieutenant Merriman of the Bengal European Regiment, who, although wounded in the action of the 13th November, was in command of a Company during this siege, and was thus again placed *hors de combat.*

The British captured 100 guns, large quantities of ammunition and grain, and £20,000 in specie.

The Fortress of Deig, now garrisoned by our troops, was repaired, the guns remounted, and the fortifications and outworks improved and strengthened; and on the 28th December General Lake commenced his advance on the Fortress of Bhurtpore. December 28th, 1804.

Assault of Bhurtpore.

The Raja of Bhurtpore, lately our sworn Ally, had been guilty of every kind of double-dealing. After the Battle of Delhie a treaty had been arranged between the British and the Raja granting to the latter the possession of territory with the view of confirming him in his supposed attachment to the Company; but notwithstanding the obligations into which he had entered, it was soon discovered that he was carrying on a clandestine correspondence with our enemy Holkar, with the object of arranging an alliance to extinguish the British power in that part of India.

1805. At the Battle of Deig the Raja of Bhurtpore had assisted Holkar with his troops; indeed the garrison of that Fortress had been composed principally of Bhurtpore troops. From this time all duplicity was abandoned, and the Raja and Holkar were avowedly Allies.

Under these circumstances the siege of the Fortress of Bhurtpore was a necessity, it being the only means by which the remnant of Holkar's power could be effectually extinguished.

January 1st, 1805. On New Year's Day, 1805, the British Army neared Bhurtpore, having been augmented by H.M. 75th Regiment.

On the 2nd January our camp was pitched within a couple of miles to the west of the Fortress. Trenches were at once commenced, to facilitate the construction of which a grove of trees was occupied, about half-way between our camp and the Fortress. In front of this grove were two breaching batteries, on one of which six 18-pounders, and on the other four 8-in. and four 5½-in. mortars were placed.* These batteries, both completed on

January 7th, 1805. the 7th, constantly threw shells into the town with great effect, causing the enemy to reply from the whole line of their ramparts.

On the 9th of January, a practical breach having been effected, an attack was ordered for that night, and three storming-Columns were formed; the left consisting of 150 of the Bengal European Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan; the right of two Companies of H.M. 75th under Major Hawkes; and the centre or main Column of the flank Companies of the Bengal European Regiment, H.M. 22nd, 75th, and 76th Regiments under Colonel

January 9th, 1805. Maitland—about 500 European soldiers; a Sepahi Battalion accompanying each Column.

The left or Ryan's Column had orders to force the main gateway of the Fortress, followed by the right or Hawke's

* During the construction of these batteries, Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Ramsay was wounded in the trenches and incapacitated from resuming his duties until the 20th of the following month.

Column, both to push on to the town in the heart of the Fortress, whilst the main Column under Maitland should attack the breach. 1805.

At 8 p.m. the three Columns advanced under a random fire of shot and grape from the Fortress and outworks, which, although it was quite dark, did great execution. The ground was much broken by water-courses and ravines, causing the Columns to be intermixed, and resulting in great confusion.

The General had anticipated that the enemy, in the darkness, would be taken by surprise; but, remembering Deig, they were on the alert. The flank Companies of the 22nd crossed the wet ditch successfully, although the water in some parts was breast-high, and some of their men, led by Lieutenant Manser, ascended close under the breach; they were, however, unable to complete the ascent without support. The remainder of the storming-Column had become separated in the darkness, and, though heavy firing was heard right and left in the entrenchments below, it was found impossible to attract their attention. The Officer commanding the small party at the breach placed two of his Officers and some of his men amongst the *débris* underneath, and descended the counterscarp, intending to collect his men below and pilot them to the breach; but he found the Columns so intermixed that, although they had succeeded in clearing the outworks of the enemy and taking the guns, he was unable to collect his men.

January 9th, 1805.

The left Column in the meantime had made its way up to the main gate, capturing the works and guns outside; but they could not follow up the advantage gained, as the ditch in their front was unfordable.

The small party concealed at the breach was soon discovered by the enemy, who attacked them in overwhelming numbers, killing both the Commissioned Officers and many of the men; when, no supports arriving, the survivors were forced to retire. Colonel Maitland now arrived at the breach, followed by a number of his men, and the assault was again attempted; but by this time the

enemy, expecting that an attempt would be made to storm the
January 9th, 1805. breach, had retired three of their guns, with which they enfiladed the breach on the inside. Colonel Maitland charged at the head of his men, and succeeded in gaining a footing inside, when he and his men were killed by the enfilading fire. Several of the Officers and men fell in attempting to carry the breach, but ultimately the storming-party was ordered to descend the walls.

Had Colonel Maitland collected together sufficient of his Column before he made the first ascent it is probable that he would have carried the breach: but he discovered his mistake when it was too late, and gave his life in palliation of his error.

The three Columns were now ordered back to camp; our loss on the occasion amounting to 43 Europeans and 42 Sepahis killed, 206 Europeans and 165 Sepahis wounded; amongst these latter being Lieutenants Wood, Hamilton, and Brown, of the Bengal European Regiment.

The distress of this mortifying failure was increased by the melancholy fate of many of our wounded men; who, being unavoidably left behind, were barbarously mutilated by the enemy.

On the following day, the defenders having repaired the
January 10th, 1805. breaches, it was determined to direct our fire on the right bastions of the Fortress; and for this purpose General Lake ordered additional batteries to be constructed, on which 2 24-pounders, 10 18-pounders, and 8 mortars were mounted.

On the 16th January all of these guns opened a furious
January 16th, 1805. cannonade with good effect, our mortars specially doing great execution, and dismounting several of the enemy's guns; but although our siege Artillery fired incessantly from all
January 21st, 1805. our works it was not until the 21st January that a practicable breach had been effected.

As the enemy, on account of our day and night fire, had not been able to repair or stockade the breach, they withdrew their

guns from the embrasures, placing them in such a position right 1805.
and left of the breach that should our storming-parties reach the summit a heavy enfilading fire would be brought upon them before they could gain a footing. It was this plan that had served their purpose so well during the first assault.

But General Lake determined that the second attack should not be delivered until our Engineers had ascertained which part of the ditch could be most easily forded.

This information three troopers of our Native Cavalry volunteered to obtain from the enemy themselves; so, discarding their uniforms and donning the ordinary dress of the Natives of the district, they mounted their horses and galloped across the plain in the direction of the Fortress. It had been previously arranged that a detachment of our Sepahis should give colour to the artifice by chasing and firing blank cartridges at the supposed fugitives, to give the enemy the impression that they were deserters making their escape from the British camp.

Arrived under the walls of the Fortress they surveyed the breach and ascertained the best means of ascent; then, calling to
January 21st, 1805. the soldiers on the walls of the Fortress to point out where the ditch was most easily fordable, they said they were seeking the protection of Holkar's Army, which they wished to join; when, having obtained the required information they put spurs to their horses and returned to our camp.

To enable the storming-parties to cross the ditch without wading through the mud and water, three broad ladders were constructed, covered with strong laths, and fitted with elevating-screws and levers, so that they could be raised or depressed at will.

All being now ready, the storming-party, under Colonel Macrae, was selected as follows—130 men of the 75th, 150 men of the 76th, 100 of the Bengal European Regiment, and 50 flankers of the 22nd; this Column was entrusted with storming the breach, and should it succeed, the remaining Europeans and three

1805. Sepahi Battalions were to follow their comrades and support the escaladers.

At night on the 21st the storming-party moved into the advanced trenches; and our Cavalry with two batteries of field-Artillery were sent in rear of our camp to keep the enemy's Horse in check.

At 3 p.m., 22nd, the storming-party moved out of the trenches under cover of our guns. The portable bridges were carried by picked men, who had been previously exercised in the mode of using them; the 75th and 76th keeping up the fire upon the batteries above, whilst the Bengal Europeans and the 22nd fixed the bridges. The advanced-party, reaching the ditch, were mortified to find that they had been outwitted; for the enemy, having rightly conjectured the object of the trick which had been put upon them, had so dammed up the ditch below the ford that a quantity of water was collected in it, so that the portable bridges were too short for the span, and were in consequence quite useless.

One of the tallest of the Grenadiers, who sprang into the water, proved that it was upwards of 8 feet deep; and some parties were then told off to swim the ditch; and Lieutenant Morris of the Bengal European Regiment, accompanied by Lieutenant Brown with 12 of the Grenadiers of the Regiment, volunteered to lead the swimming-party. The gallantry of Sergeant Allen, of the Grenadier Company, on this occasion, should ever be remembered by the Regiment with pride. The swimmers all plunged into the water, and, led by their gallant Commander, Morris, reached the further bank of the ditch; and they even succeeded in mounting up to the breach, but here Lieutenant Morris and several of his men were wounded, and the enemy having made a rush upon them before they had gained a firm footing inside the walls, they were all hurled down the ascent.

January 22nd, 1805.

To carry the breach on this occasion being now found impossible, the storming-party was ordered to return to the trenches

disappointed but not disheartened. Our loss on this the second assault was again very severe; for, during the unavoidable delay on the brink of the ditch, and during the retreat, the enemy poured a grape and musketry fire with such murderous effect on our troops that 18 Officers and 573 rank and file were either killed or wounded; amongst the latter being Lieutenant Morris and Ensign Watson of the Bengal European Regiment. 1805.

On the 6th February the British camp was moved opposite to the north-east face of the Fortress, and preparations made for the next assault. Our troops were at this time employed day and night in constructing vastly-extended outworks, with fascines and gabions, and additional batteries connected by chain-posts and trenches round our new ground, extending to our foremost batteries. February 6th, 1805.

The Officers and men of the Bengal European Regiment were conspicuous for their exertions in the trenches; the Commander-in-Chief, who personally supervised the siege-works, frequently expressing his warm thanks for the unremitting activity of the men in the performance of their arduous duties; and it was on one of these occasions that some of the men of the Regiment, apologising to their Chief for their dirty appearance, and urging as an excuse that they had not found time to change their shirts for several weeks, General Lake remarked approvingly that their dirty shirts were an honour to the wearers, showing that they had willingly sacrificed comfort to their duty; and his Excellency used frequently to address the Regiment as his own "Dirty Shirts" —a name which has been cherished with pride by the Bengal Regiment ever since those days in the trenches before Bhurtpore; and to this day some of the handsome plate on the mess-table of the Royal Munster Fusiliers will be seen to have been presented by "an old Dirty Shirt."

On the 10th of February the British Army was reinforced by a Column from the Bombay Presidency, consisting of H.M. 86th, 65th, and about 800 Cavalry.

1805. The Engineers were employed in constructing a number of wicker boats, covered with leather, and a portable raft, about 100 feet long, and 16 broad, placed on casks to serve as pontoons; and trenches had been made reaching to within a short distance of the ditch under the walls of the Fortress. Our new batteries mounted 16 additional heavy guns, and a large mine had been dug with which it was intended to blow up the counterscarp; the *débris* of which it was hoped would form a sloping bank up to a new breach which had been made immediately above it.

On the night of the 20th of February, 1805, all was ready for the third assault. The main-storming party, under Colonel Don, being formed by the Bengal European Regiment, H.M. 22nd, 75th, and 76th Foot, supported by 3 Battalions of Sepahis. The left Column, consisting of H.M. 86th and 1 Sepahi Battalion, was appointed to storm the enemy's trenches outside the Batteries, and the right Column, consisting of 300 men of H.M. 65th and two Battalions of Bombay Sepahis, was told off to attack and force the main entrance gate. During the evening, taking advantage of the absence of our working-parties from the neck of our approach, which abutted on the ditch, the enemy made a sally and demolished a part of our works. The storming-party, at 5 a.m. first reached the approach, when, finding the enemy in possession, a fight ensued, which resulted in our regaining our trenches, but in doing so several of our men were killed and wounded. A detachment of H.M. 22nd Regiment was then sent forward, who assisted the Bengal European Regiment in driving off the assailants, many of whom were bayoneted, and the rest fled.

The storming-party proceeded on their way through the approach, but as they neared the ditch an alarm was raised that the enemy had placed a slow match in the mine; thus causing a check in the advance. The flank Companies of H.M. 22nd and a Sepahi Regiment with two 6-pounders kept up a fire of grape on the walls and bastions, whilst the storming-party now attempted the assault. The ditch was found to be impassable on

foot, and in the darkness and confusion consequent on the alarm the pontoons could not be found, but notwithstanding this a number of the storming-party managed to cross, and seeing that the bastion on the right presented a rough appearance on its face they at once made an attempt to ascend it. The Grenadiers of H.M. 22nd and the Sepahis of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry behaved with conspicuous gallantry on this occasion; the colours of the Native Regiment having been planted on the bastion; but there was not sufficient support to hold the position, and Lieutenant Moore of the Bengal European Regiment was mortally wounded. 1805.

February 20th, 1805.

At this time some of the enemy's mines which they had constructed close to the breach with the intention of blowing up the besiegers should they succeed in entering, were accidentally sprung, and the aperture was considerably enlarged, so there was still hope of the assault succeeding; but the loss of the British had been very severe, the ramparts above and the whole counter-scarp below being strewn with our killed and wounded. Colonel Don, commanding the storming-party, judging that further attempts would result in irredeemable loss, retired with his whole party to the trenches; leaving 49 Europeans and 113 Sepahis dead, and having 176 Europeans and 556 Sepahis wounded during this, the third, assault.

The next morning a general parade was ordered, at which the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that the failure on the previous day was mainly due to the needless alarm in the trenches; and he called for volunteers for an immediate assault. The troops volunteered to a man; so the fourth assault was ordered for 4 p.m. on that day.

February 21st, 1805.

Orders were immediately given for all our heavy guns to be brought to bear on the right bastion, in the expectation that in its tottering condition, the whole structure might be brought down by the cannonade; and although in this Lake was disappointed, the fourth assault was nevertheless organised.

1805. The storming-party on this occasion consisted of the whole of the European force, supported by the several Battalions of Sepahis; the command being conferred on Colonel Monson.

The Commander-in-Chief received hearty cheers from the men as they advanced to the assault, and it appeared as if on this occasion there could be no failure. The advanced-party made for the ruined bastion, but to their disappointment it was found to be so steep that the soldiers could not effect an ascent. The assailants now attempted to form steps with their bayonets, which they drove into the crevices of the stone wall; and many of the men ascended to a considerable height, but they were dislodged by various missiles hurled on them by the defenders from above. Separate parties were now hurriedly formed and placed under selected Officers to storm any breaches that could be found promising a fair chance of success; but the enemy had by this time gained confidence from our repeated failures, and threw down on our soldiers large masses of masonry, flaming bales of cotton, pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles, which, bursting in the air amongst our men, caused terrible loss of life. After a couple of hours fruitlessly occupied in attempting to ascend the bastion the troops were again withdrawn to camp, with a loss of 69 Europeans and 56 Sepahis killed, and 410 Europeans and 452 Sepahis wounded.

In this, the fourth, assault Captain Ramsay,* Lieutenant Hamilton, and Ensign Chance of the Bengal European Regiment were wounded.

In our attempts to carry the Fortress of Bhurtpore the British Army had up to date 103 Officers and 3100 rank and file either killed or wounded.

Many of the British battery guns were by this time blown at the vent; the men were suffering from want of proper provisions, and our ammunition was nearly exhausted. Under these circum-

* Captain Ramsay Commanded the Light Company of the Bengal European Regiment during this assault, and was severely wounded in the face by a musket-ball.

stances the siege was temporarily converted into a blockade, and detachments were sent off to collect supplies. 1805.

The absolute necessity of carrying the Fortress by storm was still felt by all; and convoys arrived daily at camp with provisions, guns, ammunition, fascines, etc., and preparations were made for erecting fresh batteries; the old guns as soon as they were repaired being placed in position.

February 21st—March 10th, 1805.

The garrison, although it had resisted four of our determined assaults, was by no means confident of ultimate success, and indeed trustworthy information had reached our camp that the Raja's troops were deserting in large numbers, whilst others clamoured for peace.

At this time intelligence having reached their camp that General Lake had been raised to the Peerage, the Bhurtpore Raja availed himself of the circumstance to send his congratulations to his Lordship, saying that as he was now desirous of arranging terms of peace he was prepared to visit our camp in person.

Negotiations for peace were opened on March 10th; but as delays and prevarications ensued, Lord Lake on the 8th of April changed ground to the south-east of the Fortress, and made preparations for a renewal of hostilities.

March 10th—April 8th, 1805.

Holkar, the ally of the Bhurtpore Raja, had previously deserted the Fortress with his followers; who, in attempting to escape, were roughly handled by our detachments of Cavalry sent in pursuit.

On April 9th the Raja sent his Vakeel, saying he was at last prepared to conclude terms of peace; and, negotiations having been re-opened, the preliminaries were signed on April 10th; the son of the Raja being sent to the British camp as a hostage for the due performance of the terms of the treaty.

It was arranged that the Fortress of Deig should remain in British possession until our Government should be assured of the

1805. Raja's fidelity; when it would be returned to the Native Government. The Raja agreed, on his part, never to enter into alliance with any of the enemies of the British, nor to entertain any European in his service; also to pay twenty lacs—£200,000—for the expenses of the war; and, finally, that his son should remain as a hostage until the terms of the treaty should be fulfilled.

The British camp before Bhurtpore was, in consequence of this treaty, broken up on the 21st April, 1805; and "The Bengal European Regiment" went into quarters at Futty Ghur.

Holkar, after his retreat from Bhurtpore, had succeeded in collecting some troops, and marched in a northerly direction in search of plunder or conquest; and, the country being well stocked with adventurers, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous rabble of untrained troops, with 60 pieces of cannon, with which he marched towards the Punjab. Lord Lake, fearing that the Seiks might be induced to join "the Maratha Chieftain,"

October 16th, 1805. assembled a flying Column, consisting of H.M. 8th and 25th Dragoons, two Regiments of Native Cavalry, H.M. 22nd Foot, and the Bengal European Regiment, with two Sepahi Battalions; and, on the 25th October, started in pursuit. About midway between the rivers Sutlej and Bias a portion of our Cavalry sighted Holka's rearguard, pressing forward through the very heart of the Punjab, where they were closely pursued by Lord Lake's flying Column.

Arrived at Umritzur Holkar found that the Seik Chiefs in Council unanimously determined to deny him all aid and countenance; and with the object of getting rid of both the Armies Runjit Sing—the Maharajah of the Punjab—offered to interpose in the character of a mediator.

In the meantime Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General—who had during his tenure of power endeavoured to bring the turbulent tribes of Central India into subjection, and thus bestow the blessings of security of property on all peace-loving inhabitants—had died in Bengal and was replaced by Sir George

Barlow, who, to Lord Lake's mortification, directed him to 1806.
restore to Holkar the territories which had at such a sacrifice of life and money been wrenched from his grasp; thus practically destroying all hopes of permanent peace, and instituting a reign of terror and disorder.*

A treaty was arranged in accordance with Sir George Barlow's orders, under the terms of which Holkar was reinstated in his dominions; and on the 9th of January, 1806, the flying Brigade commenced its return march to Delhie, which it reached on the 15th of February.

In February, 1807, Lord Lake embarked for England; dying on the 21st of February in the following year. He was beloved by the Bengal European Regiment. The anniversary of his death was for many years observed with solemnity, and his memory was at all times held dear by those Officers who had had the glorious privilege of serving under him in the field.

* Thornton, in his "British Empire in India" Vol. IV., p. 172, says "What "we have gained by our arms we have lost by our diplomacy, our soldiers" "and seamen having poured out their blood in the purchase of conquests," "to be calmly yielded up by the liberality or incompetence of our statesmen."

General References.—Chapter XII.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Expedition to Macao under Major Weguelen—War against the Dutch in Java—Major Kelly, with a detachment of the Bengal European Regiment, occupy Fort Victoria, Amboyna—Captain Blankenhagen's expedition to the island of Ceram—His failure and death—Headquarters of the Bengal European Regiment, under Colonel Eales, embark for Amboyna—Return of the Bengal European Regiment to Dinapore—The Nepaul War—Expedition against the Pindaries—"The Grand Army" of 1817—Change in the organisation of the Bengal European Regiment—Siege and Capture of Burtpore, 1826—The 1st and 2nd Bengal European Regiments are amalgamated and become as heretofore "the Bengal European Regiment."

Service in the Island of Macao.

IN June, 1808, Lord Minto, then Governor-General of India, ordered an Expedition to be prepared for the defence of the Portuguese Settlement at Macao, in order to meet any attack that might be made by the French, with whom England and Portugal were at war in Europe. Major Thomas M. Weguelen, of the Bengal European Regiment, was promoted to the local rank of Colonel, and placed in command of the Expedition, which consisted of 200 men of the Bengal European Regiment, a like number of the 30th Foot, 100 European Artillery, with eight 18- and four 12-pounder guns, two 8-inch mortars, and two field-pieces, as well as 650 Sepahis.

The Expedition above detailed sailed from Bengal in August, 1808, and anchored in the Macao Roads on the 20th October. The duties which now devolved on Colonel Weguelen were of a Political as well as a Military character, and required the utmost tact and delicacy. The alarm of the Chinese Government at the

close pro

culminated in feelings of enmity on the part of the Chinese inhabitants, manifesting itself in repeated affrays and assaults; so that it became necessary to strictly confine all the troops to their quarters. Trade was brought to a standstill, and every endeavour at explanation was rejected, the only reply being, "Put your" "troops on board ship and then we will hear you."

To watch the proceedings of the British Expedition and to guard against surprise, a Chinese force disembarked at the extremity of the Island, occupying a joss-house, where they ultimately made preparations for war.

It now became necessary for Weguelen to determine on some decided course of action, the adoption of which would prevent hostilities, re-open trade, restore confidence, and re-establish our commercial relations with China.

Under these threatening circumstances Colonel Weguelen judiciously determined to re-embark his troops, carefully avoiding any cause for alarm to the peaceable inhabitants of Macao; and this measure having been successfully accomplished
February. the Expedition returned to Bengal, where it landed in the
1809. middle of February, 1809.

The soldier-like demeanour of the men who formed this expedition is beyond all praise; confined to their quarters, on short provisions, and surrounded by a hostile population, they maintained that strict discipline which is as essential in peace as in war.

The Governor-General in Council as well as the Commander-in-Chief expressed the highest satisfaction, and tendered the thanks of the Government for "the great prudence, discretion, vigilance," "and activity manifested" by Colonel Weguelen and the soldiers under his command. The Detachment of the Bengal European Regiment returned to their headquarters at Dinapore, when Major Weguelen was appointed to the command of the Regiment.

1810. ## Expedition to Java, 1810—17.

In the year 1810 events in Europe had placed the Colonial possessions of the Dutch in Java, and in the Molucca Islands, in the hands of the French—at this time England's most inveterate foes. Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, accordingly inaugurated a vigorous policy, under which he directed the complete conquest of these Settlements. This proposition had been submitted for the approval of the English Cabinet; but, pending the receipt of instructions from home, Lord Minto ordered that a small force should be organized at Madras to seize on the Island of Amboyna—one of the group of the Molucca Islands—and thus at once secure a position which, if necessary, would form a basis for the future operations of an invading Army. The troops employed on this service consisted of 404 men only, 130 of whom were selected from the Madras European Regiment, together with a detachment of Madras Artillery and three of His Majesty's ships of war. A landing was effected without opposition, and after only a slight resistance the enemy—believing that he was opposed by an overwhelming British force—capitu-

February 19th, 1810. lated, and Fort Victoria was surrendered on the 19th of February, 1810, to the British.

Immediately after the conquest of Amboyna the Dutch Settlements depending on this Island were taken possession of by His Majesty's ship "Cornwallis," and thus the British obtained a firm footing in close proximity to the enemy's possessions.

The objects for which the Madras detachment had been organized having been obtained, Lord Minto ordered that it should be relieved by Bengal troops, who, it was intended, should permanently garrison the Islands.

It was under these circumstances that in September, 1810

September, 1810. orders were issued for a strong detachment of the Bengal European Regiment—then quartered at Dinapore—to hold itself in readiness to embark for Amboyna.

Extract from "The East India Register," August 12th, 1812.

THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

RANK.	NAMES.	Regl. Rank.	Army Rank.	REMARKS.
Colonel	John Haynes ...	22 May, 1810	4 June, 1811	On Furlo'
Lieut.-Col....	Robert Haldane	27 Jan., 1804		
,,	Samuel Kelly ...	4 Sept., 1811		
Major	Th. M. Weguelen	5 Nov., 1808	...	Dy. Comg. General
,,	Peter Littlejohn	4 Sept., 1811	25 July, 1810	Comg. Hill Rangers
Captain	Sir Thos. Ramsay, Bart.	27 Mar., 1804	M. do.	Amboyna.
,,	H. Blankenhagen	21 Sept., 1804	27 Mar., 1804	Comg. Amboyna Corps
,,	T. D. Broughton	20 Oct., 1805	29 Dec., 1804	On Furlough
,,	John Stuart	3 Mar., 1808	20 Oct., 1805	
,,	Edm. Morris ...	15 Dec., 1808	20 April, 1808	Amboyna
,,	W. H. Wood ...	4 Sept., 1811	15 Dec., 1808	
,,	James Bryant ...	22 June, 1812	4 Sept., 1811	Brig. Maj. Dinapore
Capt.-Lieut.	Richard Higgott	do.	...	Ramghur Battn.
Lieutenant	William Home	10 Aug., 1800		
,,	James Annoe ...	22 Oct., 1802		
,,	Foster Walker...	13 July, 1803	...	Amboyna
,,	Alex. Brown ...	do.	...	Act. Maj. Brigade, Dinapore
,,	T. Kirchoffner...	30 May, 1804		
,,	Thos. Watson ...	30 June, 1804		
,,	Chas. C. Smith	30 Sept., 1804		
,,	Charles Smith...	do.	...	Isle of Banda
,,	George Bolton ...	do.		
,,	P. S. Van Swinden	30 Sept., 1804	...	Maj. Brig. Amboyna
,,	Saml. Watson ...	24 Oct., 1804		
,,	Edw. Fitzgerald	20 Nov., 1804	...	Amboyna
,,	Robt. McKerrell	8 May, 1805	...	Isle of Banda
,,	Robt. Ledlie.....	18 Aug., 1805	...	Amboyna
,,	John Fulton ...	12 Sept., 1805	...	Adjt. Amboyna Corps
,,	Wm. Burroughs	22 Nov., 1805	...	Amboyna
,,	Metcalf S. Hogg	11 Sept., 1807	...	Actg. Adj. 1 and 2 M. Presdcy. Divn.
,,	Joseph Orchard	8 Mar., 1808		
,,	John Irwin	15 Dec., 1808		
,,	Hen. P. Carlton	26 Dec., 1808	...	Fort Adj., Amboyna
,,	Francis Crisley	4 Sept., 1811		
,,	John Cockburn	22 Jan., 1812	...	Amboyna
Ensign	James Harrison	22 Aug., 1807	...	Amboyna
,,	George Wray ...	30 Oct., 1808	...	Amboyna
,,	David Ruddell...	31 Mar., 1808	...	Ramghur Battn.
,,	Ben. Ashe	do.		
,,	Alex. Irvine	1 Sept., 1808		
,,	Thos. J. Godney	24 Sept., 1808		
,,	James Marshall	10 Nov., 1808		
,,	Wm. Davison ...	15 Feb., 1809		
Adjutant ...	Foster Walker...	26 Feb., 1809		
Quartermstr.	James Annoe ...			
Surgeon	George Rankin	...	...	Amboyna
Assistant do.	Patk. Halkit.....	...	...	do.
do.	John Eckford ...	...	...	do.

Facings, Buff; Emby., Silver.

1811. The detachment consisted of one flank Company and three Battalion Companies, making in all 368 Officers and men; the whole under the command of Major Kelly.

The detachment sailed for its destination in October, 1810; very severe storms being encountered during the voyage, and the transports sustaining considerable injuries.

On its arrival Major Kelly, who had been promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, assumed command of all the forces on the Island by virtue of his seniority.

The headquarters of the Regiment and six Companies had been ordered to remain at Dinapore.

A second detachment of the Regiment, under Captain Sir Thomas Ramsay, Bart., sailed in the Company's ship "Mentor," for Amboyna in January, 1811.

January, 1811.

This detachment suffered greatly from malarious fever, which was raging throughout the Islands; Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly being amongst the Officers who succumbed to the disease (December, 1811), when the command devolved upon Captain Sir Thomas Ramsay.

December, 1811.

Although the climate of Amboyna was anything but salubrious the scenery is described as being very beautiful, exhibiting mountains thickly wooded, and valleys teeming with luxuriant verdure; numerous villages and hamlets being dotted about, surrounded with an abundance of rich cultivation.

The bay is entered between two high hills, which diminish in height as they approach the town. This bay stretches about seven leagues into the Island, separating it nearly into two parts; and on the north shore Fort Victoria is situated. Whilst quartered at Fort Victoria the duties which devolved on the Officers of the Regiment required much tact, judgment, courage, and vigilance; the elements of discord amongst the Native population of the Islands causing frequent disturbances. The Malays, who formed a large proportion of the inhabitants, were universally noted for their perfidy and cruelty; whilst the Chinese were distinguished

for their dishonesty and lack of principle. Finally the slaves, the 1811.
number of whom was enormous, had been subjected to a constant system of cruelty; so that, maddened by their wrongs and sufferings, they were always anxiously watching for some opportunity to free themselves from the bondage and hardships to which they had been subjected. Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration that young Officers of the Regiment were unavoidably placed in command of detachments on the different islands and outposts, where they were unable to hold frequent communication with their superiors, it argues well for the discipline of the Regiment and the intelligence of the Officers that there is not any instance on record of the conduct of any of the Officers or men whilst on these detached commands having called for anything but approbation from their superiors.

It was whilst on one of these detached commands that Captain Blankenhagen, of the Bengal European Regiment, lost his life. This Officer had been appointed to the command of the "Amboyna Corps," which had been raised by him from amongst the Malays and other inhabitants of the island. Captain Blankenhagen had proceeded with some of his men to the island of Ceram with the view of bringing into submission one of the refractory Chiefs. An attack on the enemy's stronghold was unsuccessful, and this gallant Officer was killed at the head of his Regiment.

The principal Possessions still remaining to the Dutch were situated in the Island of Java; and a qualified approval of Lord Minto's policy for the subjugation of these Possessions having been received from England, the Governor-General gave orders for the dispatch of a force to capture Batavia and the principal fortifications on the Island of Java. The Army was placed under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and consisted of 12,000 men, of which number nearly one-half were Europeans. On the 4th of August, 1811, the Expedition, with which was Lord Minto in person, arrived in the Batavia Roads: and after a series of successes, attended unfortunately with much sacrifice of

1814. life, the conquest of the Settlement was achieved. The views of the home authorities extended no further than the expulsion of the Dutch and the capture of their fortifications, after which it was ordered that we should vacate the island; but Lord Minto was of opinion that such a termination to the Expedition would be ill-judged and mischievous. The captured Forts were therefore garrisoned by British troops, and order was maintained by a properly-organized Government.

It was under these circumstances that on the 27th of February, 1812, the headquarters of the Bengal European Regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eales, embarked at Calcutta in the transports "Indiana," "Good Hope," and "Mussafer," to join their comrades at Amboyna. The Regiment remained in the Molucca Islands and at Macassar in the Isle of Celebes until early in April, 1817, when the Spice Islands were delivered over to the Dutch Authorities,* and the Regiment returned to Bengal, when it was again quartered at Dinapore.

The Nepaul War and Expedition against the Pindaries, 1814—1818.

The Earl of Moira, who succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General, having landed in Calcutta in October, 1814, commenced his Government by instituting a wise and high-minded policy. His predecessor had represented in strong terms the necessity of curbing the aggressive policy of the Ghoorkahs; and a treaty had been concluded with the authorities at Nepaul, under the

* Thornton, in his "History of the British Empire in India," Vol. IV., p. 348, remarks "the blood and treasure expended in the capture of the Dutch "Settlements were ultimately thrown away. By the arrangements consequent' "on the general pacification of Europe these Settlements were restored' "—an additional illustration of that levity and disregard to consequences" "which seem to be inherent in British diplomacy. The maintenance of "Java and its Dependencies was necessary to the safety and integrity of our" "Eastern Empire, and they ought never to have been surrendered."

stipulations of which they were bound to respect the rights of the Company; but the conduct of the Nepaulese had compelled our Government to declare the treaty dissolved. 1814.

The encroachments of the Ghoorkahs extended into almost all the Company's territories which abutted on those of Nepaul; and thus necessitated the institution of active measures, not only for the repression of these aggressions, but for the protection of those Native rulers who owed allegiance to the British Government.

Lord Minto, with the view of avoiding a war which the Government could ill afford, had made more than reasonable concessions. Without seeking any atonement for the insults which had been inflicted on the Company he had simply demanded that the Ghoorka Government should withdraw from the territories they had wrongfully appropriated; but his just demands were rejected with scorn, and the enemy prepared for war.

Lord Moira now assembled a considerable force to maintain the authority of the Company, the chief command being assigned to Colonel David Ochterlony; whilst a force under Major-General J. Sullivan Word penetrated into the Ghoorka country, by the route of Rutswild, to prevent the transfer of the war to the westward.* A detachment of the Bengal European Regiment formed part of General Wood's Division,† but it does not appear to have come into actual contact with the enemy.

In 1816 the Nepaul War was brought to a conclusion by the ratification of a treaty, under the conditions of which the rights of the Company were to be respected in the future, and the territories which had been wrongfully annexed were restored to the British.

But a war of far greater importance than that which had to be maintained against the Ghoorkas threatened the early Administration of Lord Moira—who had since his assumption of office been created Marquis of Hastings. A war of extermination against

* East India N. S. Journal 1835.

† East India Military Calendar, Vol. I., p. 382.

1816. the Pindaries formed one important feature in Lord Moira's Administration, and at an early period of his government he had directed the attention of the Court of Directors to this subject, and solicited their instructions. The Pindaries had now become the pest of society; and it was necessary not only to punish and destroy them, but to overawe those powerful Native States under whose protection they carried on their depredations. The Pindaries were a clan of freebooters; but, although their condition was one of constant war against their neighbours, they did not claim to be soldiers. They supported themselves by plunder and murder; their victims in most cases being the unoffending cultivators of the soil. They congregated in the Native States, where they formed themselves into different bands, composed of the outcasts of society, perpetrators of crimes, and escaped felons; any ruffian who could possess himself of a horse and sword being welcomed into their ranks. Their means of existence depended upon the amount of their spoliation; and whenever their treasury was exhausted an excursion against a wealthy village or group of villages was planned; their councils being held in secret, their movements were rapid both in attack and retreat, and their sole object being plunder, they obtained it in the most expeditious manner, darting on their victims with velocity, and where they met with determined opposition, flying with precipitancy.

The cruelties to which the unoffending villagers were thus subjected by these marauders were unsurpassed in their disregard for suffering. The banditti on their appearance in a village demanded instant information of the position of treasure supposed to be concealed, and any hesitation ensured the immediate application of some horrible torture; the soles of the feet being seared with red-hot irons, or a bag of hot ashes tied over the face of the victim, who was then severely beaten on the back, forcing him to inhale the heated ashes; time was not allowed to the women and children to remove their bangles from their arms and feet, their limbs being frequently chopped off. Nor was the

committal of these atrocities by the Pindaries confined to the men 1816.
only; for in their excursions they were usually accompanied by their women, who are said to have surpassed the men in rapacity and crime.

A few hours sufficed for the work of murder and theft, when the villages were fired and the robbers retired with their spoil to their homes. This accomplished, the Native Government—almost invariably Maratha—under whose protection the Pindaries lived, had first to be satisfied; in some instances one-fourth of the booty being surrendered to them, in others a heavy heriot being demanded.

All external claims having been discharged, the spoil was divided according to an acknowledged scale. The women then held a fair which was conducted with dancing, singing, and debauchery; attracting purchasers to their mart from far and near. Not satisfied with plundering the villages in the Native States, the Pindaries had now grown more reckless, and had made incursions within the territories of the Company. Under these circumstances it became incumbent on the Indian Government to adopt decided measures of reprisal and punishment.

It was not to be disguised that this undertaking was one of considerable magnitude, seeing that, although the Pindaries were in themselves despicable and in every way unworthy to be classified as foes, they were openly encouraged by many of the influential Native rulers, who unblushingly derived a considerable portion of their revenues from their plunder.

Holkar had bestowed upon Gurdi Khan—one of the Pindaric Chiefs—a golden flag, the possession of which entitled the bearer to high rank amongst the Marathas. Kurreem Khan, at this time the Chief of the Pindaries, on the occasion of receiving a visit of ceremony from Scindia, prepared a throne for his guest erected on a pedestal composed of Rs. 125,000, which he tendered to his patron as a gift of honor. A campaign, therefore, against the Pindaries necessitated a series of concomitant wars against many

1817. of the powerful Maratha States, and it was accordingly ordered by the Calcutta Council that they should be undertaken on a scale of magnitude and efficiency commensurate with the important services on which it was intended that our forces should be employed.

The "Grand Army," for the complete subjection of the Pindaries and their patrons, was assembled immediately after the rainy season in 1817, and was divided into two commands, that of "Bengal" and "The Deccan;" the former Army consisting of 12, and the latter of 24 Brigades, numbering in all close on 100,000 men.

The Grenadiers and Light Companies of the Bengal European Regiment again formed part of the "European Flank Battalion," with six Companies of H.M. 17th, 24th, and 59th. This Battalion, formed entirely of flankers, was said by an eye-witness to have been "a magnificent Corps;" and as it was composed of picked men from the different British Regiments serving in Bengal the emulation was very great.

"The Flank Battalion" of the "Army of Bengal" was in the 2nd Infantry Brigade, commanded by Colonel George Dick; and this Brigade marched in October, 1817, to Secundra, and in November was joined by the Marquis of Hastings, who assumed the chief command.

October, 1817.

The Army of the Peishwar showed open hostility to the British; but a treaty was entered into with Scindia and some other influential Maratha Chiefs, under which their active co-operation against the Pindaries was promised. Although the British Government were well aware that these treaties were entered into by the Chiefs only to be violated should the occasion arise, yet, in the face of the powerful Army which we had assembled, it was calculated that in all probability their fulfilment would be a matter not of choice but of necessity.

This so-called "Pindaric War" was in reality the assertion of the Company's Government to paramount superiority over all

BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

28th February, 1821.

RANK.	NAMES.	Rank in the		REMARKS.
		Regiment.	Army.	
			M. G.	
Colonel	John Hayes	28 May, 1810	4 June, '11 ...	On Furlough.
Lieut.-Col....	Udny Yule, C.B.	4 April, 1814		
,,	Edw. P. Wilson	4 June, 1818		
Major	T. D. Broughton	4 Mar., 1815	4 June, 1814	
	JohnLewisStuart	1 June, 1818	...	Agent for building public boats
Captain	Wm. H. Wood	8 Sept., 1811	15 Dec., '808	Benares Levy.
,,	Jeremiah Bryant	22 Jan., '12	5 Sept., '11 ...	Judge Adv.-Genl.
,,	James Auriol ...	6 March, '14	31 Aug., 13 ...	
,,	Foster Walker ...	13 Aug., '15	6 March, '14	
,,	Alex. Brown ...	24 March, '16	13 Aug., '15	
,,	Thos. Kirchoffer	8 July	8 Jan., '16 ...	
,,	Thos. Watson ...	1 June, '18 ...	do.	
,,	Chas. C. Smith	1 August ..	8 Jan., '17 ...	
,,	George Bolton ...	1 Jan., '19 ..	1 do., '18	
Lieutenants	Robt. Ledlie ...	18 Aug., '05	Capt., do. ...	
,,	Wm. Burroughs	22 Nov.	do.	Barrack Master 6th or Allahabad Div.
,,	Metcalfe S. Hogg	11 April, '07	do.	
,,	Joseph Orchard	3 March, '08		
,,	John Irwin	15 Dec.		
,,	Hen. P. Carleton	26 do.		
,,	Francis Crossley	5 Sept., '11 ...		
,,	James Harrison	10 March, '12		
,,	George Wray ...	2 July, '13 ...	...	On Furlough
,,	David Ruddell...	31 August ...	...	Asst. Hindú Stanni Prof. Coll. Fort William
,,	Ben. Ashe.....	6 March, '14	...	A.D.C. to Gen. Ashe
,,	Thos. J. Goding	1 July		
,,	Jas. Marshall ...	16 December		
,,	Wm. Davison ...	do		
,,	Hen. W. Bennett	13 Aug., '15		
,,	Thos. H. Coles	4 March, '16	...	On Furlo'.
,,	Wm. H. Howard	28 July		
,,	J. A. Thompson	1 August, '18		
,,	W. G. Beachamp	do.		
,,	Chas. T. Foster	10 October ...		
,,	David Birrell ...	20 October ...		
,,	George Warren	30 April, '20		
Ensigns	—	—		
Adjutant ...	H. P. Carleton...			
Quartermstr.	M. C. Hogg			
Surgeon	John Stephens...			
Assistant do.	Wm. Duff.....			
,,				
,,				

Facings, Pompadour. Lace, Silver.

* The Regimentals of the Infantry, Red.

1818. others in India. Up to this period the powerful Maratha Chiefs had controlled the destinies of Central India, but a change was now effected; for after a few months, during which several important victories had been gained, the Peishwar was our prisoner; Scindia was, of necessity, our Ally; the Raja of Nagpore—who had opposed us—was a fugitive; and the Pindaries, who were not even worthy to be called our enemies, were driven from their possessions; and those who declined to follow an honest mode of life were forced into the jungles, where they met with a miserable termination to their worthless and baneful existence. The Pindarie War not only cleared the country of what was a disgrace to all civilized governments, but, more than this, it firmly established the supremacy of the Government of the East India Company throughout India. Although "The Flank Battalion," of which the Grenadiers and the Light Companies of the Bengal European Regiment formed a part, were not called on to engage in more than guerilla warfare, the services rendered were important and formed a link in the chain of conquests resulting in a term of peace, security, and prosperity in India, which remained unbroken for many years.

At the conclusion of the war in 1818 "The Flank Battalion" marched to Allahabad, where it was broken up, and the Companies of the Bengal European Regiment joined their headquarters at Berhampore.

In the year 1824 an important change was ordered in the constitution of the Regiment which was then separated into two Regiments.

The Officers of the Bengal European Regiment were divided equally between the two Regiments, but no full Colonels were appointed; the senior Lieutenant-Colonel being termed "Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant." A complete Staff was nominated to each Regiment, which was composed of five Companies only, each Company consisting of 6 Sergeants, 7 Corporals, and 100 private soldiers.

FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

"PLASSEY," "ROHILCUND," "MYSORE," "DEIG."

January 1st, 1825.

RANK.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
Lieut.-Colonel			L. C.	
Commandant	Edw. P. Wilson...	1 May, '24	1 June, '18	
Lieut.-Colonel	Thos. Garner ...	14 July, '21		
Major	Jeremiah Bryant	11 July, '23	...	Judge Adv.-General
Captain	Alex. Brown.....	24 Mar., '16	13 Aug., '15	
,,	Chas. C. Smith...	1 Aug., '18	8 Jan., '17	
,,	Robt. Ledlie.....	11 June, '22	1 Jan., '19	
,,	Joseph Orchard	1 Jan., '24	27 Mar., '21	
,,	Hen. P. Carleton	1 May	24 May	On Furlough
Lieutenant	David Ruddell ...	31 Aug., '13	Captain, 4 Sept., '22	Assistant Hindostanee Prof. Coll. Fort William
,,	Wm. Davison ...	16 Sept., '14	Captain, 16 Sept., '28	
,,	W. H. Howard...	28 July, '16		
,,	George Warren	30 Apr., '20		
,,	Charles Wilson...	18 Jan., '22		
,,	G. A. C. Stewart	11 June		
,,	Alex. C. Scott ...	11 July, '23		
,,	Francis Beaty ...	do.		
,,	James Matthie ...	1 Jan., '24		
,,	Charles Jorden...	27 May, '24		
Ensign	Henry Candy ...	11 July, '23		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
Adjutant.....				
Quartermaster				
Surgeon				

Facings, Sky-Blue. Lace, Silver.

*** The Regimentals of the Infantry, Red.

SECOND EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

"PLASSEY," "ROHILCUND," "MYSORE," "DEIG."

January 1st, 1825.

RANK	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
Lieut.-Colonel			L.-C.	
Commandant	Wm. H. Perkins	1 May, '24	8 June, '19	On Furlough
Lieut.-Colonel	Wm. H. Wood...	do.	...	On Furlough
Major	James Auriol.....	do.		
Captains	Thomas Watson	1 June, '18	8 Jan., '16	First Adjutant, Fort William
,,	George Bolton ...	8 Jan. '19	1 Jan., '18	
,,	Wm. Burroughs	11 July, '23	1 Jan., '19	Barrack Mastr., 6th or Allahabad Divsn.
,,	John Irwin	1 May, '24	29 Mar., '21	
,,	James Harrison	do.	28 Feb., '22	
Lieutenants ...	James Marshall	16 Dec., '14	Captain, 30 Apr., '23	
,,	H. Wm. Bennett	13 Aug., '15		
,,	J. A. Thompson	1 Aug., '18		
,,	David Birrell ...	20 Oct.		
,,	John S. Pitts.....	7 Oct., '21		
,,	John P. Ripley...	7 May, '22		
,,	Wm. Shortreed	2 July	1 May, '23	
,,	Thos. Lysart	11 July, '23		
,,	Edw. Rushworth	do.		
,,	Robt. Crofton ...	1 May, '24		
Ensigns	—	—		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
,,	—	—		
Adjutant.....	J. Marshall	17 June, '24		
Quartermaster	J. P. Ripley	do.		
Surgeon	—	—		

Facings, Sky-Blue. Lace, Silver.

Both Regiments wore the same facings and lace, viz., "sky-blue" and "silver." 1823.

The Bengal European Regiment was quartered at Ghazeepore when the orders for its re-organization were effected; and the 2nd Regiment was, on its re-formation, ordered to Dinapore, where it remained until 1825, when it proceeded to Arracan to guard our new Frontiers, as defined after the Burmese War of 1824.

Siege and Capture of Bhurtpore.

The Maratha, or, as it was called, the "Pindaric" War had the desired effect of firmly establishing the supremacy of the East India Company over the whole of the country south of the Sutlej. Peace and prosperity, such as had not hitherto been known, had been ensured to the inhabitants of Hindustan; and millions of subjects were praising the just and decided policy of Lord Hastings, which had ensured to them the previously-unknown blessings of security in land, home, and person.

Budher Sing, the Raja of Bhurtpore, died in 1823, leaving no direct issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Buldeo Sing, who acknowledged his allegiance to the Company by soliciting from them the Khelat of Investure.

At this time General Sir David Ochtolony—whose name has ever been associated with all that is honourable and just—the British Resident at Malwa and Rajpootana, represented to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, that one Durjun Sal had claimed the throne of Bhurtpore, but that on impartial inquiry the man had failed to vindicate his claim, which rested solely on his bare assertion that the late Raja had acknowledged him as his heir and nominated him as his successor.

Buldeo Sing was, therefore, formally placed on the Musnud, under the authority of the East India Company; and, at his request, his infant son was acknowledged by our Government heir to the throne.

1825. On the 20th January, 1825, Baldeo Sing died, and this infant son, in accordance with the ruling of the Calcutta Council, succeeded his father.

Durjun Sal again claimed the throne, and, although his letters were couched in specious language, he by his acts set at defiance the authority of his suzerain, the East India Company; and, having gained over a large number of the Bhurtpore troops by promises of reward, attacked and seized the feebly-defended Fortress of Bhurtpore, murdered the uncle of the young Raja, took the boy prisoner, and occupied the throne in defiance of all remonstrances.

As soon as it came to the knowledge of Sir David Ochtolony that the authority of the British had been outraged, he at once ordered all available troops to move towards Bhurtpore, and issuing a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, called upon them in the name of his Government to rise and vindicate the rights of their youthful Sovereign, assuring them that in so doing they should have the support of the Calcutta Council.

Lord Amherst declined to sanction or maintain the Resident's policy; it was in vain that Ochtolony urged that if decisive measures were not adopted to uphold British authority the rebellion of Durjun Sal would probably be productive of an extensive and costly war; he was instructed to immediately countermand the march of our troops and reverse his policy, allowing the people of Bhurtpore to fight for the succession and settle the dispute amongst themselves.

February—March, 1825.

Never was an official placed in a more perplexing or humiliating position, but General Ochtolony acted with promptitude on the instructions received from the Governor-General, and, in his letter of the 15th April, 1825, he said, "I lose no time in" "communicating his Lordship's sentiments as freely as I should" "if they had conveyed an approbation of my measures;" but, at the same time, he forewarned the Government in strong terms what must be the inevitable result of their weak, shortsighted

policy, urging upon them that "every moment's delay was" 1825.
"submission to disgrace," and, with this caution, he tendered his resignation; but saying, at the same time, that he should be guilty of falsehood if he acknowledged any conviction of the incorrectness or impropriety of his actions, for he was fully convinced that his policy, had it been followed, would have speedily brought matters to an amicable and an honourable issue.*

Sir David Ochtolony died at Meerut shortly after his resignation; when the Government of India paid tribute to his memory by issuing a notification in which it was set forth that "the "diplomatic qualifications of Sir David Ochtolony were not less" "conspicuous than his Military talents."

In the month of June following it became apparent that the time had arrived when the Government of India must of necessity interfere in Bhurtpore affairs, or lose the little respect which remained to it. Large bodies of mercenary troops, many of whom came from our own districts, crowds of Marathas, and descendants of the Pindaries, attracted by the cry of war and the hope of plunder, had collected together. Madhoo Sing, the brother of the usurper, had seized the Fortress of Deig and attempted to possess himself of Bhurtpore. The troops, who depended solely on plunder for their sustenance, were not only devastating the Bhurtpore and neighbouring districts, but threatening to carry their depredations into the territory of the Company itself. The danger of a general war now became apparent, for there was every probability that those turbulent Princes who had been brought to subjection by Lord Hastings in 1817 would take advantage of the apathy of the present Government, and attempt to regain their former possessions.

Still the Calcutta Council were undecided, whilst the Governor-General stood timidly aloof. A man was wanted to lead, and fortunately such a man was at hand. Sir Charles

* Letter to Secretary to Government, 25th April, 1825

1825. Metcalfe penned an able Minute on the state of affairs at Bhurtpore, which turned the scale and reversed Lord Amhurst's non-interference policy. The Governor-General having the fairness to acknowledge that his opinions "had undergone some change" and that "a system of non-interference" "would be exposed to" "signal failure."

Thus it was that the boasted impregnability of the Fortress of Bhurtpore was to be again tested, and our Army to be allowed an opportunity of completing the task which it had failed to accomplish in 1804.

July—September, 1825.

A proclamation was now issued, denouncing the pretensions of the usurper Durjun Sal, and setting forth that the infant Raja, whose succession had been sanctioned by the Company, should by their authority and under their protection be firmly seated on his throne. Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed by the Government to carry into effect the purport of this proclamation, and should it be necessary he was empowered "to resort to the" "measures of force."

Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, assumed the Command of the Field force; and the Bengal European Regiment was ordered to be immediately held in readiness to march towards Bhurtpore.

The order for the Regiment to proceed on active service was hailed by the men with delight, not only on account of a natural desire to complete the reduction of the Fortress of Bhurtpore, which had withstood our four successive assaults in 1805, but cholera* and a virulent malarious fever had within the past few

* In the burial ground at Ghazeepore may still be seen sad mementos of this visitation of cholera, in the long rows of graves of the men of the Bengal European Regiment. On one of these the following epitaph to the memory of a deceased soldier may be seen:—

"I'm billeted here by death,
And here I must remain;
When the last trumpet sounds,
I'll rise and march again."

"*Erected by his Comrades.*"

months reduced the Regiment in strength and spirits, making 1825.
welcome the prospect of a change to a more healthy climate and vigorous life.

There still remained with the 1st Bengal European Regiment some of the Officers and rank and file who had been present during the unsuccessful attempts to capture Bhurtpore in 1805. There had been no lack of courage on that memorable occasion, but there had been failure; "Deig" was inscribed on the Regimental Colour, but "Bhurtpore" was remembered by its absence. Major Alexander Brown was one of those who swam the ditch with the Grenadiers on 22nd January, 1805; this Officer was still with the Regiment—a tall, handsome man, of courage unsurpassed; to the young Officers he was specially kind, ever ready to help them in their difficulties and assist them with his advice. There was also present with the Regiment a man named Allan, known as "Tinker Allan." Private Allan was a regimental character; he was upwards of six feet high, and always took the right of the Grenadier Company, and no feat was too daring for him to attempt. Captain Morris, who had commanded the Grenadiers at the siege of Bhurtpore, had been shot in the neck and his leg broken whilst leading the escaladers across the ditch; it was Allan who rescued his wounded Officer, and it may fairly be said that he saved his life. Allan was not a drunkard, but he was a wild, reckless fellow, frequently in trouble, but ever ready to make atonement for his errors. On one occasion he had been tried by a Court-martial and sentenced to be flogged. The proceedings of the Court were as usual read on parade, and Allan began to strip to receive the lash, when Colonel Roberts,* then commanding the Regiment, called him to the front and thus addressed him: "Private Allan," "you have proved yourself on many occasions to be a brave and" "gallant soldier, and your deeds are well known in the Regiment." "I will not submit you to the disgrace of the lash. I will remit"

* This was the father of Lieutenant-General Sir F. S. Roberts, Bart., V.C., G.C.B., C.I.E., of Afghanistan celebrity; now Commander-in-Chief, Madras.

1826. "your punishment, and I hope that the mercy which I have now" "shown you, will induce you to be as good a soldier in quarters" "as you have been in the field." Allan was ordered to take his place in the ranks, and his release was hailed with joy by his comrades.

It was with a full measure of applause that the order to join the Army before Bhurtpore was received by the 1st Bengal European Regiment, and five days sufficed for collecting the necessary carriage, when amidst hearty cheers the Regiment commenced its march. On arrival at Shekoabad orders from the Commander-in-Chief were received directing that the Regiment should push on as quickly as possible, for the day of attack was at hand.

January, 1826. The march was resumed immediately and a distance of 14 additional miles was accomplished, the Regiment reaching Etimadpore before daybreak the next morning. A halt was then ordered for breakfast, and without pitching camp the Regiment continued its march a further distance of 15 miles, when of necessity it halted a few hours to obtain service ammunition and exchange condemned arms. At 4 p.m. the same day, January 6th,

January 6th, 1826. the men were drawn up on parade in heavy marching order, and the word of command having been given, the Regiment commenced its final march of 36 miles, which was to bring our soldiers face to face with their old enemy, who, just 20 years previously, had foiled and defeated them.

Before dawn the signs of exhaustion were apparent and it seemed as if the men would be unable to complete their task; a halt appeared inevitable, when a deep boom was heard in the distance, the roar of the cannon becoming louder and louder, and the flight of the shells becoming visible as the men with a hearty cheer and refreshed vigour pushed along the road. Extra liquor was served, and at daylight on the morning of the 7th the "Dirty

January 7th, 1826. Shirts," having again proved their title to their *sobriquet*, arrived on the plain before Bhurtpore.

The Regiment had in 18 hours marched 60 miles, during the

last 36 of which the men had carried 60 rounds of ball ammu- 1826
nition in pouch.

In consideration of these extraordinary exertions and the fatigue which the Regiment had undergone, the Commander-in-Chief ordered that it should be allowed three days' entire rest, during which time it was excused from all duties.

After this repose, the Bengal European Regiment was appointed
January 10th, 1826. to the 2nd Division of Infantry, commanded by Major-General Nicolls; the position of their camp being to the west of the town of Bhurtpore.

Preparations for the grand assault were now nearly completed. Lord Combermere had transmitted to Durjun Sal a proposal for the withdrawal of the women and children from the Fortress, and a safe conduct was promised through the British camp, but the proposal was treated with contempt; notwithstanding which, it was humanely repeated; a second time it was rejected.

The 18th of January was fixed as the day for the grand assault.

The Commander-in-Chief's plan of action was to drive a mine, capable of containing an unusually heavy charge, right under the "Futteh Bourj," the name by which the main battery of the Fortress was known. Previous to the attack a strong party of Cavalry had been sent round to prevent the enemy from cutting the "dam" of the lake (Motee Jheel), and it may be remembered that it was owing to the enemy having succeeded in cutting this "dam" during the first siege of Bhurtpore, that so many difficulties were encountered, and so many lives sacrificed in endeavouring to cross the ditch.

During the early part of January two or three mines had been pushed towards the Fortress; some of which had been countermined by the enemy, and some had been exploded with the view of distracting the enemy's attention from the main work. The British had now 130 heavy guns in position. The Bengal European Regiment had been told off to work in the trenches which were connected with the "right battery."

On the 17th January orders were issued by the Commander-in-
January 18th, 1826. Chief for the grand assault; and on the following morning, the preparations having been completed, the troops commenced to occupy the trenches, so as to be in readiness for the contemplated attack; the springing of the mine under the "Futteh Bourj" being the signal for a general advance.

H.M. 14th Regiment were appointed to lead the centre storming-party against the main breach; four Companies of the Bengal European Regiment leading the right attack, and H.M. 59th the left.

One Company of the Bengal European Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright, joined the reserve in the trenches.

The morning of the 18th June, 1826, was bright and clear. The enemy having learnt that the British troops had all taken position during the night, and finding that our trenches were packed with our soldiers, anticipated an immediate attack; the "Futteh Bourj" was crowded with the enemy's Artillery and Infantry, who by signs and gestures were seen to bid defiance to the besiegers, who were silently awaiting the signal. Exactly at 8 o'clock a low rumbling sound was heard; there was no smoke yet, but the large Bastion was noticed to silently disconnect itself right and left from the Fortress, and for a few seconds it seemed to oscillate with its human load; who now for the first time suspected they were over a gigantic mine. The rumbling sound was soon succeeded by a roar; when, in the midst of flames and blinding smoke, the huge mass of the "Futteh Bourj" rose for a second towards the cloudless sky, and then split and crumbled into a million fragments, which were scattered far and wide.

It was now seen that the mine had been very much overcharged, and the destruction dealt around had not been confined to the enemy only, for several of our main assaulting-party were killed and three of the Officers wounded.

The stunning effect of the explosion of this surcharged mine caused a temporary check in the British advance; but, as the dust

and smoke passed off in a dense cloud, the stormers were all seen 1826.
January 18th, 1826. steadily advancing towards the breaches, unchecked by the heavy fire from those bastions which had escaped injury from the explosion; H.M. 14th Regiment conspicuously displaying the black or "No Quarter" flag, on account of one of their comrades having been captured by the enemy in the early part of the siege, and barbarously murdered.

The four Companies of the Bengal European Regiment leading the right attack having to make their way across 200 yards of the plain, several of the men fell before reaching the ditch; on nearing which an order was received for Nos. 1 and 2 Companies to attack and force the Jungeena or Main Gate; the former under Captain William Davison, and the latter or No. 2 Company under Lieutenant George Warren.

These Companies, carrying escalading ladders, kept close under the walls of the Fort, from which a constant fire was sustained, fortunately passing over the heads of the escalading party.

On reaching the gate the ladders were quickly placed, but the
January 18th, 1826. fortifications being strongly defended, it at first appeared doubtful if our men could overtop the walls; but, scrambling, struggling, and shouldering one another, the summit was reached, but so obstinate was the resistance, that our loss was very severe; Lieutenant Candy being mortally wounded, and several of our men killed and wounded.

The cool courage of the two Officers, Davison and Warren, who led the storm of the Jungeena Gate, is beyond all praise; they having been the first to ascend the ladders, and bear the brunt of the assault.

An entrance having been effected, a desperate struggle ensued; when, the enemy having recoiled, a rapid and determined charge was made on a four-gun Battery, which covered the approach of the main entrance into the Fortress; the guns were soon captured, most of the enemy being bayoneted at their posts. In the assault on this battery Lieutenant Warren was attacked by one of

1826. the defenders, who, feigning death, suddenly sprang up and desperately wounded this Officer before he had time to defend himself; but his life was saved by Corporal Quin of his Regiment, who arrived just in time to strike the fellow to the ground.

The Jungeena Gate was now opened by our men from the inside, and the British troops were rapidly entering; but such was the desperate nature of the attack and defence that all three Officers of the escalading party of the Bengal European Regiment had fallen during the assault.

In the meantime the right assault under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson with the two remaining Companies of the Bengal European Regiment had carried their breach in gallant style, and, clearing the bastions and ramparts of the Fortress towards the Jungeena Gate, joined their comrades, the united Companies now pushing forward towards the Citadel.

By this time the left as well as the right escalading Columns had
January 18th, 1826. succeeded in carrying all the breaches; and the enemy, being convinced that further resistance was useless, fled through those gates of the Fortress of which they still held possession; and at 4 p.m. the Fortress of Bhurtpore surrendered unconditionally.

Durjun Sal with his wife and sons and 160 chosen followers attempted to force their way through our Cavalry, but were captured and brought prisoners into our camp; when the Raja was sent first to the Fortress of Agra and afterwards to Allahabad to await the orders of Government, as to his ultimate disposal.

Thus were the pretensions of the Fortress of Bhurtpore to impregnability annihilated; and thus was the power of the British, which had been shaken by the indecision of Lord Amherst and his Council, re-established by the courage, self-sacrifice, skill, and determination of the Army under Lord Combermere.

The Fortress of Bhurtpore was now levelled with the ground, and all its defences which had survived the siege were destroyed; but the ever-memorable name of Bhurtpore—which had cost the

Bengal European Regiment, during the five assaults in which it had been engaged, the lives of so many of its Officers and men—was now added to the decorations borne by the Regiment, and the memory of this glorious siege is recorded on the Colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers. 1826

The Companies of the Bengal European Regiment actively engaged in the final storm and capture of Bhurtpore lost in killed, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant, and 9 rank and file; in wounded, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, and 38 rank and file.

The following is a list of Officers of the Bengal European Regiment killed and wounded during the siege and capture of Bhurtpore, January 18th, 1826:—

Captain William Davison, severely wounded.
Lieutenant Henry Candy, killed.
Lieutenant George Warren, severely wounded.

In the Fortress and Outworks 133 guns and 300 "wall pieces" were captured, and the loss of the enemy, as reported to the Commander-in-Chief, was 4,000 men; the number of wounded was not known.

The following Forts, some of great strength, surrendered on the approach of the British Army:—

Brana, Weir, Kombeir, and Kama; and the expeditions against these garrisons having returned to Bhurtpore, the British Army remained encamped for about six weeks, during which time the terms of a treaty were being arranged under the stipulations of which the young Raja was now reinstated on his throne.

The Army before Bhurtpore broke up early in April, when the 1st Bengal European Regiment proceeded to Agra; the 2nd Regiment joining them on their return from Cheduba, Arracan, before the close of the year. April, 1826.

On the 1st January, 1830, the two Regiments were again joined into one, which was designated as heretofore "The Bengal European Regiment;" but the Officers continued in two separate cadres for promotion. January, 1830.

1831. In 1831 the Regiment moved from Agra to Dinapore, and in 1835 it proceeded to Meerut.

On September 1st, 1838, the organisation of the Regiment was again altered, the following establishment being sanctioned :—

1 Colonel,	1 Schoolmaster-Sergeant,
2 Lieutenant-Colonels,	1 Drum-Major,
2 Majors,	1 Fife-Major,
10 Captains,	1 Drill-Sergeant,
16 Lieutenants,	1 Drill-Corporal,
8 Ensigns,	40 Sergeants,
2 Surgeons,	40 Corporals,
2 Assistant-Surgeons,	20 Drummers,
1 Sergeant-Major,	650 Privates.
1 Quartermaster-Sergeant,	

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CHAPTER XIV.

Origin of the Afghan War, 1838—Formation of the "Army of the Indus"—Advance of the Army—The Bolan Pass—Arrival at Quetta—March between Quetta and Kandahar—Sufferings of the troops and cattle—The Kojuck Pass—Advance on Ghuznee—Assault and Capture of Ghuznee—Advance on Cabul—Breaking up of the "Army of the Indus"—Continued Occupation of Afghanistan by British troops—Protest by the Amir—Dissatisfaction of the Afghan Chiefs—Attack on the Fort of Pooshut by Colonel Orchard and a Detachment of his Regiment—The Bengal European Regiment returns to India and its designation changed to the "1st European Bengal Light Infantry"—The Regiment forms part of "The Army of Reserve"—And is ordered to the Hill-station of Subathoo.

LORD MINTO, during his Administration as Governor-General, 1817, had turned his attention to the necessity of watching carefully the north-west frontier of India; and with this view he dispatched Mr. Montstuart Elphinstone to Cabul on a political mission, which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty with the Amir Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk; under the provisions of which that Prince engaged to resist the attempts of any Foreign Power to pass through any portion of the Afghan territory with hostile intentions towards the East India Company.

After the ratification of this treaty, dissensions arose in Afghanistan, terminating in the dethronement and flight of Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, who sought and obtained the protection of the Indian Government.

Dost Mohamed ultimately succeeded to the Afghan throne; but under this Prince's rule the above-referred-to treaty was set at naught. Russian intrigue was so rife in Persia and Afghanistan that Lord Auckland—then Governor-General of India—following

1837. Lord Minto's policy, dispatched—September, 1837—Captain Alexander Burnes on a Mission to Cabul to report on the relations existing between the Amir and the Russian and Afghan Courts. Captain Burnes, on his arrival at Cabul, soon satisfied himself that the Amir, Dost Mahomed, was completely under Russian influence; he further discovered that a Russian Agent, named Vickovich, had been deputed to Cabul by his Government with promises of a large annual subsidy in exchange for Dost Mohamed's interest and services on Russian behalf. These overtures had been accepted by the Amir, who, dazzled by the prospect of such substantial assistance, had thrown himself completely into the arms of Russia.

Under these circumstances Captain Burnes returned to India, and, in his report—December 23rd, 1837—to the Governor-General, he says, "I am satisfied that much more vigorous" "proceedings than the Government might wish to contemplate" "are necessary to counteract Russian or Persian intrigue in this" "quarter than have been hitherto exhibited."

It now became apparent to Lord Auckland's Government that Russia was endeavouring to work her way stealthily and surely towards the frontier of India; and that if active measures should not be adopted to check her progress the result must inevitably be dangerous and disturbing to the peace of India; the interests of Russia in Afghanistan appearing to be rising in the same proportion as those of England appeared to be declining.

The primary question to be decided by Lord Auckland's Government was, whether they should allow the country on their north-west frontier to be governed by an intriguing enemy, or whether they should restore Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, who had sought the protection of the British, to his throne, and thus secure the goodwill of a powerful Ally.

The Government of India elected to support the interests of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk; and for this purpose a triple alliance was formed between the East India Company of the first part; the

Marahja Runjeet Sing of the second; and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk 1838.
of the third; the East India Company undertaking to supply troops and money; the Marahja agreeing to supply a Contingent of 6000, and an "Army of Observation" of 15,000 men, on the condition that Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk would agree to acknowledge the right of Runjeet Sing to the Afghan territory which he had annexed; and lastly Shah Shuja agreeing to protect the interests of the East India Company, and strengthen the advancing Army, by employing such Afghan troops as should desire to further the cause of their dethroned Prince.

This treaty was confirmed and ratified at Lahore in June, 1838; and on the 1st of October following a proclamation, setting forth the views of the Indian Government, was promulgated, in which it was stated that:— June—October, 1838.

"His Majesty Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk will enter Afghanistan"
"surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against"
"foreign interference, and factious opposition by a British"
"Army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the"
"Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own"
"subjects and adherents and when once he shall be secured in"
"power and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan"
"established the British Army will be withdrawn."

"The Army of the Indus" was formed on a scale commensurate with the important objects which it was required to attain.

The Bengal portion of the Army consisted of a Siege Train, European Horse and Foot Artillery, British and Native Light Cavalry, and five Brigades of Infantry; the fourth Brigade being composed of the Bengal European Regiment (under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B.) and two Native Regiments. Bombay supplied an Army consisting of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, and the "Poona Auxiliary Force."

Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk's contingent was composed of a troop of Native Horse Artillery, two Regiments of Cavalry, and five of Infantry.

1838. In addition to the above the Maráhja Runjeet Sing supplied an "Army of Observation" of 15,000 Seiks and a moveable contingent of 6000 under General Ventura, a French Officer in the Punjaub service.

The following is a numerical summary of the troops employed in the "Army of the Indus":—

	Men.
The Bengal portion of the Army consisted of ...	9500
The Bengal Reserve Division	4250
The Bombay portion of the Army consisted of...	5600
The Scind Force, which formed the Reserve to the Bombay portion of the Army	3000
Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk's Contingent	6000
The Shazada's Division, commanded by Timúr, the son of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk	4800
The Seik Contingent	6000
The Seik Army of Observation	15,000
Total.....	54,150

The advance towards Afghanistan was made in five Columns, separated from each other by one day's march; the 4th Brigade, commanded by Major-General Duncan, in which was the Bengal European Regiment, being the last to leave Ferozpóre.

On the 29th of December, 1838, the Army reached Bahawalpore,
December 29th, 1838. 229 miles from Ferozpóre and just half-way between that station and Bhakkar; which town is situated close to the river Indus, and was reached on the 24th of January, 1839.

Much difficulty had been experienced *en route* by reason of the
January 24th, 1839. mortality amongst the camels and draft cattle; no less than 28,000 camels accompanying the force.

Shah Shujah's Army had in the meantime reached Bhakkar, and had crossed the Indus in boats about seven miles higher up the stream

Affairs at Haidarábad in Scinde, being found in an unsatis- 1839.
factory condition, the Commander-in-Chief in India, General Sir H. Fane, ordered a detachment of 5000 men of the Bengal Army to join that of Bombay, which was under the command of General Sir J. Keane.

The 4th Infantry Brigade, together with some Cavalry, Artillery, and Sappers, was ordered to remain at Bhakkar; and this Brigade —in which was the Bengal European Regiment—was employed in the construction of the bridge of boats by which the invading Army was to cross the river Indus; and further, the Brigade was instructed to take possession of the small Fortress of Bhakkar, stated to have been originally built by Alexander the Great when he invaded India in B.C. 327.

Though in a very dilapidated condition the Fortress of Bhakkar would, if repaired and garrisoned, have possessed considerable strength. The castellated building is picturesquely situated on an island in the middle of the river Indus, and was at this time within the territory of the Amír of Khyrpore; who consented, under treaty 23rd January, 1839, to hand it over to the British Commander. The Fort was accordingly taken possession of on the 29th of January, and the English flag raised upon its ramparts.

January, 1839. The Command-in-Chief of the "Army of the Indus" was now assumed by Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, and the Infantry of the Bengal Column was denominated the 1st Infantry Division, and placed under Major-General Sir W. Cotton.

On the 15th of February the headquarters of the 1st Infantry
February, 1839. Division were established on the right bank of the Indus, and on the 19th it reached Shikarpore.

At Shikarpore the 1st Infantry Division joined Shah Shuja's contingent; the advanced force numbering over 15,000 men.

The invading Army was now nearing the enemy's country;
March, 1839. and Dadur, a small town in the gorge of the Bolan Pass, 146 miles distant from Shikarpore, was reached on the

1839. 10th March; but this progress had been made with difficulty, for a desert 26½ miles in extent had to be crossed, and the troops and cattle had suffered terribly from want of drinkable water. The suffering from the heat was very great, the thermometer reaching 98° in the shade. Provisions also were scarce, and non-combatants were placed on half rations.

The Column entered the Bolan Pass on the 16th of March, 1839; but notwithstanding that the temperature was now considerably lower, and good water plentiful, the passage through the Pass is described by an Officer* of the Bengal European Regiment, who was present during the march, as having the appearance of an Army "retreating under every disaster; public" "stores and private property lying about scattered and aban-" "doned in every direction."

The mountains on either side of the Pass are irregular and barren, occasional green patches of cultivation which surround the villages affording an agreeable contrast to the rugged and desolate appearance of the rocks.

The distance between the hills which enclose the Pass varies considerably; in some places the valley being three to four miles broad, but in others constricted to less than a hundred feet; the huge rocks rising perpendicularly on either side.

March, 1839.

Fortunately the passage of the troops was unopposed, and the Force on the 26th of March reached Quetta, where the temperature was now very considerably reduced; causing as much suffering amongst the troops from the cold as they had previously sustained from the excessive heat. Much of the baggage, amongst which were the blankets, had been abandoned in the Pass, so that the men's night-covering was insufficient. The thermometer now ranged from 30° at 4 a.m., to 60° at 3 p.m. Fruit-trees were in full blossom around, and the snow covered the mountain peaks on either side of Quetta, which is 5637 feet above the level of the sea.

* General George Warren.

On the 6th of April General Sir John Keane established his 1839
headquarters at Quetta, and immediately issued orders for a general advance to Kandahar.

The march between Quetta and Kandahar was one of privations and terrible suffering; insufficient food and the absence of water causing much sacrifice of life, and the miseries endured by the troops and cattle passes all description. The horses, numbers of which fell exhausted on the road, were goaded with lances from behind in the hope that they might be enabled to struggle on to a longed-for stream ahead. Captain Havelock in his narrative says: "Horses, already half-starved for want of grain and good" "grass, were throughout the day panting in all the agonies of" "thirst, and in the evening a few drops of water could not be" "obtained even to mix with the medicines of the sick in our" "hospital."

Under these circumstances the greatest difficulties were experienced in transporting the heavy guns; the draft-cattle, being starved and exhausted, were quite unequal to the task; and indeed the nature of the ground was such, that through a large portion of the defile the siege-train had to be dragged up and lowered down by manual labour.

April, 1839.

The road over the Kojuck Heights rises steadily for a distance of upwards of a mile; and it was there that the Bengal European Regiment was employed in transporting the heavy guns and ammunition; the Officers of the Regiment working with their men for four consecutive days at the drag ropes, from sunrise to sunset.

The headquarters of the Army reached Kandahar on the 26th of April, 1839; but the 4th Brigade and heavy guns did not arrive until the 30th, when a halt, so much needed to recruit the energies of the Army, was ordered.

The Bengal Column had marched 1005 miles, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and privation; the troops having

1839. endured tortures from the scarcity of water;* and on the arrival of the Army at Kandahar they had all been on half rations for 28 days.

The sufferings to which the troops had been exposed are but inadequately recorded. Nature was well-nigh exhausted; there "was no time for the luxurious ablutions which, under the sun" "of Central Asia, preserve the health and restore strength, no" "time to waste a single drop of the precious fluid on any bodily" "comfort, or for any purpose but for preparing food or slaking" "a raging thirst." † The draft-cattle, as well as the horses, had perished in great numbers, and food both for man and beast was still insufficient.

On the 8th of May Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk was installed at Kandahar by Lieutenant-General Keane, as Amir of Afghanistan;‡ and consequently Dost Mahomed was to be treated in the light of an usurper.

May, 1839.

On May 10th, 1839, the Army commenced its march towards Ghuznee, but the draft-cattle were so deficient in numbers and strength that it was found impossible under the circumstances to carry sufficient provisions, or to advance the siege-train. To meet these difficulties the troops were again placed on half rations, and the heavy guns were ordered to remain at Kandahar.

The march towards Ghuznee did not commence under propitious

* Major Hough (Campaign in Afghanistan) gives the following graphic description of the Army reaching a river on the line of march. "The moment" "the horses saw the water they made a sudden rush into the river as if mad;" "both men and horses drank till they nearly burst themselves. Officers declare" "that their tongues cleaved to the roofs of their mouths; the water was very" "brackish, which induced them to drink the more. The river was three feet" "deep and more in some places, and was five or six miles off the proper road." "Many dogs and other animals died. No Officer present ever witnessed such" "a scene of distress."

† Thornton's "Hist. British Empire." Vol. VI., p. 174.

‡ Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk was about 60 years of age when he was re-seated on his throne. He had lived under the protection of the East India Company for 24 years.

"East India Register," January, 1840.

THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

(Right Wing.)

"PLASSEY," "BUXAR," "GUZERETT," "DEIG," "BHURTPORE."

Station — Arrived

RANK.	NAMES.	Rank in the		REMARKS.
		Regiment.	Army.	
Colonel	Wm. Dunlop ...	14 Feb., '39	22 Jan., '34	Qrmr. Genl.
Lt.-Col.	J. Orchard, C.B.	27 July, '36		
Major	George Warren	25 Feb., '37	L.-C. 23 July, '39	
Captain	Francis Beaty ...	2 July, '33		
,,	James Matthie ...	8 Sept., '35	...	Asst. G. G. Agent N. W. Frontier
,,	Charles Jorden...	16 Dec., '36		
,,	Thos. Box.....	27 July, '36		
,,	A. Wm. Taylor...	25 Feb., '37	*	
Lieut.	Charles Clark ...	15 Jan., '29	...	On Furlo.
,,	John G. Gerrard	15 Dec., '30		
,,	Wm. Broadfoot	2 July, '33	*	
,,	Wm. Jas. Parker	8 Sept., '35		
,,	Jno. W. Bennett	16 Dec., '35	...	Sylhet Light Infantry
,,	H. T. Combe ...	27 July, '36		
,,	F. S. Macmullen	18 Dec., '37		
,,	F. Shuttleworth	20 July, '38		
Ensigns	R. W. H. Fanshawe	12 July, '38	12 June, '37	
,,	James Pattullo...	,,	,,	
,,	Robt. H. Hicks...	,,	26 July, '37	
,,	E. W. Salusbury	1 Sept.	11 Dec., '37	
,,	Geo. O. Jacob ...	,,	,,	
,,	John Lambert ...	,,	,,	
,,	E. J. Boileau.....	,,	,,	
,,	Tho. W. Gordon	,,	14 Jan., '38	

* With Shah Shujah's Army.

Facings, Sky-Blue.

THE BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT.

(Left Wing.)

"PLASSEY," "BUXAR," "GUZERATT," "DEIG."

Station — Arrived —

RANK.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
Colonel	Philip Le Fevre	18 Dec., '34	18 June, '31	On Furlo'
Lieut.-Colonel	Ab. Roberts, C.B.	28 Sept., '34		
Major	J. A. Thompson	27 Sept., '37		
Captain	David Birrell ...	26 April, '27		
,,	John P. Ripley...	19 June, '31		
,,	Wm. Shortreed...	15 Nov., '36	14 Feb., '35	
,	Thos. Lysart	27 Sept., '37	3 June	Hydrabad
	Alister Stewart...	5 Mar., '38		
Lieutenant	Wm. Edm. Hay	9 May, '25	Captain, 19 July, '37	Brig. Major, Agra
	Jas. Rath. Pond	11 May, '32		
	Fran. Harrison ...	2 May, '33		
	Bernd. Kendall...	13 Mar., '35		
	Douglas Seaton...	29 July, 35		
,,	Edward Magnay	15 Nov., '36		
,,	John Fagan	3 Mar., '38		
,,	W. K. Haslewood	10 Aug., '38		

Adjutant to the Regiment, —
Intr. & Qr. Mr. do. J. G. GERRARD.
Surgeon do. H. GUTHRIE, M.D.
Asst. do. do. ALEX. GIBBON.

Facings, Sky-Blue.

circumstances, but there was now no deficiency in water, the men 1839.
were cheerful under their privations, and though the Columns
July, 1839. were surrounded by pilferers, which kept the troops constantly on the alert, nothing worthy of notice occurred until the Army, on the 21st July, 1839, arrived in the vicinity of Ghuznée, distant 290 miles from Kandahar, and 90 from Cabul.

A careful *reconnaissance* showed that the Fortress of Ghuznee had been much under-rated, and it was ascertained by inspecting the works that they possessed great strength. Captain Thompson, the Chief-Engineer with the Army, gives the following description of the Fortress of Ghuznee:—

"We were very much surprised to find a high rampart in "
"good repair built on a scarped mound about thirty-five feet "
"high, flanked by numerous towers and surrounded by a *fausse* "
"*braye* and a wet-ditch. The irregular figure of the *enceinte* "
"gave a good flanking-fire whilst the height of the citadel "
"covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills "
"rendering it nugatory. In addition to this the towers at the "
"angles had been enlarged. Screen walls had been built before "
"the gates, the ditch cleared out, and filled with water (stated "
"to be unfordable) and an outwork built on the right bank of "
"the river, so as to command the bed of it." "We had no "
"battering-train, and to attack Ghuznee in form a much "
"larger train would be required than the Army ever possessed."

The Citadel, in itself a Fort of considerable strength, is situated at the top of the hill upon which the city and its fortifications are built.

The British force fit for duty amounted to about 8000 men, in addition to which was Shah Shuja's Contingent of about 4000; and our Artillery consisted of 40 guns, of which 18 were light field-pieces.

To await the arrival of our siege-train was out of the question, as it was known that one of Dost Mahomed's Generals had been sent from Cabul with a considerable force to act against the

1839. besiegers, in concert with the Commander of the Ghuznee garrison. This hostile force could not now be more than one or two marches distant; and it was a matter of importance that action should be taken before reinforcements could arrive. It was under these circumstances that the Commander-in-Chief made up his mind to carry the Fortress by a "*coup-de-main*," and for this purpose he determined on the following plan of action. A double charge of powder would be placed by an "explosion party" against the Cabul Gate of the city, and this charge was to be fired at a given signal; the attention of the defenders having been previously diverted in the opposite direction by a false attack.

On the explosion taking place the storming-party were to enter and possess themselves of the Fortress; this plan being elaborated in a General Order dated Ghuznee, 22nd July, 1839.

The "storming-party" was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Sale, C.B., and "the advance" was ordered to consist of the Light Companies of H.M. 2nd, 17th, and the Bengal European Regiments, and a Flank Company of H.M. 13th Light Infantry.

The main Column consisted of the Bengal European Regiment under Colonel Orchard, H.M. 2nd and the remainder of the 13th Light Infantry formed as skirmishers on the flanks.

H.M. 17th Regiment was ordered to form "the support and to "follow the storming party into the works."

Finally a detachment of Native Infantry was directed to "quit" "camp and move round the gardens on the south of the town" "where they will establish themselves; and about 3 a.m. open" "a fire upon the place for the purpose of distracting the" "attention of the garrison."

Immediately after the explosion at the Cabul Gate "the Chief-" "Engineer finding the opening practicable will have 'the" "Advance' sounded for the Column to rush on. When the" "head of the Column has passed the gateway a signal must be"

"made for the Artillery to turn their fire from the walls of the" 1839.
"town on the Citadel."

At midnight—23rd July, 1839—the British Army was astir, but their allotted positions were taken up in absolute silence. The night was stormy, and the wind so boisterous that the movements of the troops were not discovered by the enemy; and within the Fortress no sound was heard, all being so still that it was for some time suspected that the place had been evacuated.

The detachment of Native Infantry which had taken up its position in the gardens to the south of the town were heard to open fire in the distance, but they failed to attract much notice from the garrison.

The Engineers, who formed the "explosion-party," had silently advanced, carrying with them bags containing 300 lbs. of powder.*

The "explosion-party" had not advanced more than a few hundred yards when their movements were observed by the enemy's sentries, who immediately gave the alarm, and in a few minutes a great number of blue-lights were burned on the tops of the walls of the Fortress. It now became apparent to the "explosion-party" that the enemy did not suspect that they had any design on the gate, for the blue-lights, instead of being thrown into the sortie passages below, were held high in the air; so that while lighting up the country around they afforded no guidance to the besieged, who appeared to be in ignorance that an immediate attack on their Fortress was contemplated.

The enemy were not kept long in doubt, for the "explosion-party" hastened forward under a severe fire from the ramparts, and placing the bags of powder in position, and laying the hose, they retired under whatever cover they could find. A moment's
July 23rd, 1839. silence followed; when the chain of fire, taking its serpent-like course, was seen to run along the ground, and on

* A charge of from 60 to 120 lbs. of powder is said to be usually ample for blowing in a gate, but the Commander-in-Chief gave special orders for a full double charge to be used.

1839 reaching the charge an explosion followed which blew the gate and some of the surrounding buildings to atoms.

There was no longer any doubt as to the intentions of the besiegers, and the silence which had been enjoined on the troops was now broken by a succession of hearty cheers; our Artillery at the same time opening fire, and the Afghans hastening to their allotted positions on the ramparts.

The Commander-in-Chief now gave the order for the party forming the advance to push forward and secure the entrance to the Fortress. The Light Companies made a dash for the ruins of the gate, but their progress was opposed by a strong force of the enemy, who advanced outside the *sortie* and contested the passage. A galling musketry and grape-fire was poured on the "advance party" as they charged, and their ranks were thinned before they reached the outer works; but after a desperate resistance the enemy were driven back amongst the ruins of the gate. But the passage was still hotly contested; the Light Companies again and again charging the masses, and at each charge obtaining some slight advantage; until the enemy fairly gave way, and the "advance-party" with a cheer and a rush, was scrambling over the ruins.

The enemy were driven back but not dismayed; and now rapidly forming into two parties they made a desperate onslaught on both flanks of the Advance, so that it appeared for some minutes doubtful if any of the men composing the Light Companies would be left to hold the ground. But at this critical moment our storming-party arrived in support, and the enemy were bayoneted in such numbers that our troops was much impeded by the heaps of dead and *débris* round the ruined gate.

But this advantage had not been secured without terrible loss on our side; the wounded of the Light Company of the Bengal European Regiment, including its three Officers, Lieutenants Broadfoot, Magnay, and Haslewood, as well as thirty of the rank

and file. It was here that Brigadier-General Sale, who com- 1839.
manded the "storming-party" received a severe cut in the face; after which he had a desperate hand-to-hand encounter with his enemy as they rolled together on the ground, both fighting for their lives; until the General, although much exhausted from loss of blood, succeeded in wrenching his enemy's sword from his grasp, and with it cleft the Afghan's head in two.

The main opposition at the gateway having been now overcome, the bugles sounded the advance; and, as had been previously ordered, H.M. 13th and 17th Regiments took the road to their right which led round to the Citadel.

Our guns had for some hours been directed on the walls of the Citadel, which was at the top of the hill on which the
July 23rd, 1839. Fortress of Ghuznee was built; and it was hoped, by the time an entrance into the Fortress had been effected, a practicable breach would have been made on the walls of the Citadel, so that the 13th and 17th Regiments might carry it by storm. Inside the Cabul gate was a large square about 150 yards across and commanded by houses on three sides, whilst on the fourth side was the Citadel, which was immediately opposite to the captured gateway. As soon as the "storming-party" had reached this square some of the enemy rushed towards the Citadel, whilst others took possession of the houses; from which they continued to pour a galling fire on our advancing troops.

The route taken by the Bengal European Regiment was through narrow streets, the houses on each side as well as those in the square being filled with the Afghans, who sent a raking fire on the Regiment as it advanced; and, in addition to this fire, the streets were occupied by the enemy, who stoutly contested the
July 23rd, 1839. passage of our troops. Two hours were occupied in thus fighting our way through the streets of the town towards the Kandahar gate; on each side of which were outworks only approachable through a narrow passage, from above which a constant fire was kept up by the enemy. In these outworks there

1839. was an expense magazine, which fortunately had exploded, and made the capture of the position comparatively easy.

The Bengal European Regiment now turned off to the left, passing along a street which led back towards the ruins of the Cabul gate; when suddenly the Colours of the 13th and 17th Regiments were seen flying on the walls of the Citadel above, and the enemy rushing down the slope only eager to effect their escape. The Bengal European Regiment was still employed in forcing its passage along the street, when Major Warren, the second in command of the Regiment, was struck in three places and fell to the ground severely wounded.

The scene in the centre square at this time is described as having been one of horror and confusion—"Horses, many" "wounded, were running about in all directions, fighting" "with each other, kicking and biting, and running quite furious" "at anyone they saw; so dangerous had these animals become" "that the men were obliged to be ordered to shoot the horses" "in self-defence as they endangered the lives of all, and par-" "ticularly of the wounded men while being carried out in" "dhoolies."

July 23rd, 1839.

The Afghans became thoroughly demoralised, and abandoning their guns fled in all directions; throwing themselves from the walls into the depth below where many of them perished; many others refusing quarter and rushing on the bayonets of our soldiers, eager to die whilst fighting the battle of the faith, rather than crave for mercy at the hand of the Infidel.

Hyder Khan, the Governor of Ghuznee, received a bayonet-thrust through the waistband of his dress, and would have lost his life had he not surrendered to Captain A. W. Taylor of the Bengal European Regiment, who happened to be near at hand in the *melée*.

The loss of the enemy will never be known; but the bodies of upwards of 500 Afghans were found within the walls of the Fortress, and 1500 were taken prisoners.

The Bengal European Regiment suffered very severely in wounded; but it is remarkable that throughout the British Army the number of killed in the siege was very small in proportion to the wounded. The Bengal European Regiment had only 1 rank and file killed; whilst amongst the wounded there were Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., commanding the Regiment, Major Warren, Captains Hay and Tayler, Lieutenants Broadfoot, Haslewood, and Fagan, and Magnay, and Ensign Jacob; with 51 rank and file. Of these Officers, Major Warren and Lieutenant Haslewood were in considerable danger. 1839.

Major Warren was wounded in three places; the upper part of his left wrist being carried away by a shot, a second striking his left breast and passing round the surface of his chest, and a third entering the upper part of his right arm, in which he had received a severe wound at the capture of Bhurtpore, 1826.*

Lieutenant Haslewood was cut down soon after the "Advance-party" had got into the Fortress; and, although he succeeded in shooting the first man who attacked him, he was immediately afterwards surrounded by the enemy, who inflicted five sabre wounds of great severity, the first on the head which felled him to the ground; and whilst in a half-conscious state the Afghans hacked him with their tulwars, cutting through his right scapula, another wound crossing this, and in addition his right thigh was severed at the joint; at this critical moment a private soldier in Lieutenant Haslewood's Company, named Kelly, coming up just as the Afghan was about giving Haslewood his *coup-de-grace*, rushed to his Officer's rescue and ran his assailant completely through the body with his bayonet. From the serious nature of Lieutenant Haslewood's injuries, the surgeons did not think that he would recover the use of his arm or leg; but he was more fortunate than was anticipated, and under the skilful treatment

* Major Warren was afterwards appointed by Lord Auckland, Town-Major of Fort William, as a special reward for his services on this occasion.

1839. which he received he was, after a long convalescence, again fit for duty.*

And now is a fitting time to refer to the valuable services rendered to the Bengal European Regiment by their indefatigable Surgeon, Dr. G. Paton; who, though suffering from a painful illness, was ever at his post, rendering, by his scientific experiments, inestimable benefits to both the Officers and men, who suffered as much from diseases peculiar to the country as from the ravages of war.

After the storm was over, and quiet had been in some degree restored, the General Commanding-in-Chief conducted his Majesty Shah Shuja round the Fortress and Citadel; and the Amir expressed his astonishment at our having captured in a few hours the Fortress which had heretofore held the reputation of being impregnable.

July 24th, 1839.

The Governor, Hyder Khan, was brought before His Majesty, who, at the intercession of the English Commander, spared his life; he being ordered to be kept a prisoner of war, for which purpose he was sent to the headquarter camp and placed under the charge of Sir Alexander Burnes.

A few days' rest was now allowed to the troops; the wounded being placed in the depôt hospital at Ghuznee, and the convalescents, with such of the sick and wounded as could be moved without risk, being ordered to accompany the Army on its forward march.

On the 30th of July, 1839, the British force continued its march towards Cabul; Dost Mahomed† flying from that city on the approach of the Army, and on the 7th August the Amir Shah Shuja made his public entry into his capital.

July—August, 1839.

* Lieutenant Haslewood was rewarded for his services by Lord Auckland, who placed him on his personal Staff. Lieutenant Haslewood was, however, afterwards invalided on account of his wounds.

† It having been ascertained that the ex-Amir Dost Mahomed had fled in the direction of Bameen, a force was dispatched in pursuit under the direction of Hajee Khan Kakur; Captain Arthur William Tayler and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, both of the Bengal European Regiment, serving with this

The inhabitants of Cabul seemed marvellously indifferent to 1839.
the changes which had taken place. The city was filled with immense crowds, but they made no demonstration; there was no shouting or sounds of joy; the nobles rose as the king appeared and made their salaam, but as soon as His Majesty had passed they reseated themselves, and the crowds dispersed to their usual avocations.

On the 3rd September, 1839, the Shahzada Timúr marched into Cabul with his Army. On the 17th of September, H.M. Shah Shujah held a grand durbar at the Bala Hissar, for the purpose of conferring upon certain Officers of the British Army, who had been selected to receive the distinction, the Order of the Duranee Empire. The following Officers of the Bengal European Regiment received the Order.

Brigadier-General Roberts, C.B., who had commanded the Amir's force during the campaign, was created a Member of the 2nd Class. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., and Major Warren were created Members of the 3rd Class. A Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy was also conferred on Major Warren. W. O., 13th December, 1839.

A Medal was ordered to be struck and presented to all those Officers and soldiers who had been engaged at the capture of Ghuznee. Subsequently the names "Afghanistan" and "Ghuznee" were ordered to be inscribed on the Colours of all the Regiments who had served during the Campaign; these being inherited by the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

Orders were now issued by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief, 9th October, 1839, for the breaking up of "the Army of the Indus," the purposes for which it had been assembled having been fully

detachment. Hajee Khan Kakur, who had received many favours from Dost Mahomed, now defeated the object for which the expedition had been organised and connived at the Dost's escape; the detachment returning to Cabul without the ex-Amir; who, however, subsequently surrendered himself a prisoner of war, and claimed the protection of the British after the Battle of Purwan, 3rd November, 1840.

1839. attained. The ex-Amir, Dost Mahomed, had been dethroned and was a fugitive; and our Ally, Shah Shujah, had been replaced upon his throne, after an absence from his capital of thirty years. The Army had marched 1527 miles, under circumstances of great hardship and privation; it had occupied Kandahar, stormed and captured the strong Fortress of Ghuznee, and it was now in undisputed possession of the capital city of the Afghan Kingdom.

The death of the Marajah Runjeet Sing on the 27th June, 1839, was not generally known in the Army at the time of its occurrence, as fears had been entertained that in the event of the Marajah's demise his successor might withdraw his "Army of Observation" from Peshawar; the consequences of which would have been very serious and probably might have imperilled the safety of our Army on its return to India. Satisfactory arrangements were however made with the Punjab Government, and the policy of the late Marajah was adopted by his successor.

On the breaking-up of the "Army of the Indus" three of its Brigades remained in Afghanistan; one at Kandahar; one at Cabul; and the third at Jellalabad. The fourth Brigade of the "Army of the Indus," in which was the Bengal European Regiment, was directed to form part of the "Army of Occupation," and proceed to Jellalabad; but, as a General Order had been published—29th July, 1839—ordering the embodiment of the 2nd European Regiment, volunteers from the 1st European Regiment were called for to form the nucleus of 2nd Regiment. Eighty-two men were selected and proceeded to Hazarebagh with the invalids and time-expired men of the Regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, who by this time had sufficiently recovered from his wounds to undertake the duty.

Although many of the Officers of the old 2nd European Regiment*—which had been joined with the 1st in 1830—were still serving with the latter Regiment all the Officers of the newly-

* White facings were prescribed for this Regiment on its re-organisation, as worn by the old 2nd European Regiment in the last century (p. 282).

formed Regiment were taken from the general list of the Army. 1839.
The promotion of the Officers of the Right and Left Wings of the European Regiment, which had continued since the amalgamation of the 1st and 2nd Regiments, was so involved that it was found impossible to separate them without causing great injustice. Under the orders regulating the promotion of the Officers of the two Wings, no Wing Officer could receive substantive promotion until his parallel Officer in the other Wing had been promoted. Under the working of this order a Captain has commanded the Regiment whilst a Major has been present and on duty.*

The detachment of the Bengal European Regiment under
October, 1839. Colonel Warren marched from Cabul on the 15th October with the second Column of the returning Army, under command of Major-General Thackwell.

Subsequent political and military events proved that it would have been well had Lord Auckland elected to withdraw his Army from Afghanistan immediately after the occupation of Cabul, whilst the British Army was crowned with all the honours of victory; but such was not the policy of the Government of India, who, though bound by the terms of the Governor-General's
November—December, 1839. "Proclamation," were unwilling to relinquish the power obtained over the Afghan country. In vain His Majesty Shah Shujah urged the withdrawal of the British troops; his request was refused on the ground that he was not yet secured in power, the Government of India reserving to itself the right of determining when the time of withdrawal should arrive.

The people of Afghanistan were justly alarmed at the decision of the British Government; they hinted at a violation of faith, and pointed to the Governor-General's "Proclamation," promising them independence; the hostile feeling increased; powerful Chiefs

* It was said that no one outside the Regiment understood the working of this Government Order, and very few of those affected by it could explain its effects.

1840. assembled armies and assumed a threatening attitude, claiming their independence and openly taunting the King with being the puppet of a foreign power.

The Bengal European Regiment had scarcely taken up its quarters in the garrison of Jellalabad when one of these discontented Afghan Chiefs named Syad Husain, at the head of a considerable force, took up his position in the Fort of Pushoot, about fifty miles from Jellalabad, and assumed a defiant attitude. Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, C.B., commanding the Bengal
January, 1840. European Regiment, was ordered to proceed with a Company of his Regiment under the command of Captain Thomas Box, and a small Native force with three guns, to dislodge the rebel Chief.

On the 18th January, 1840, the British detachment arrived in the vicinity of the Fort. The march to Pushoot had been performed under very trying and harassing circumstances, a constant downpour of rain saturating the roads and drenching the troops; the cold being intense, and violent storms rendering progress difficult. On taking up position our field-guns opened fire on the walls of the Fort, no difficulty being anticipated in reducing its inmates to subjection. A practicable breach was soon effected and Captain Box, with his Company of the Bengal European Regiment, together with some Sepahis, forming the storming-party, effected an entrance; but it soon became apparent that the breach had been made in the outer works only, and that the inner fortifications could not be carried without scaling ladders or blasting operations.

At this time, by some mistake, one of our Buglers sounded the "Advance," which indicated to the outer force that we had succeeded in making our way into the Fort. On hearing the signal the rest of the besiegers pushed forward, and thus the outer works became dangerously crowded, and our troops exposed to a heavy fire from the walls of the Fort. An attempt was now
uary 18th, 1840. made to blow in the inner gate, but the powder was damp and refused to ignite; but still, notwithstanding that the

explosion-party were exposed to considerable danger, a second attempt was made to blow open the gate; but again the powder failed. 1840.

The troops had been exposed during these operations to a heavy cross fire for several hours, the rain at the same time pouring down in torrents; and, as Colonel Orchard considered that no further progress could be made, he ordered his troops to retire to their camp. The Officers and soldiers had manifested the greatest gallantry and resolution under difficult and disheartening circumstances; our loss was considerable, Lieutenant Hicks, of the Bengal European Regiment, being mortally wounded; 19 men were killed and 48 wounded. It is, however, satisfactory to be able to record that the determination and valour of the troops engaged convinced the enemy that prolonged resistance would be useless; and they evacuated the Fort during the night of the 19th January, taking with them all their valuables; and, with the exception of a small store of grain and gunpowder, the Fort had been completely cleared. Colonel Orchard occupied the Fort, and remained with his troops at Pushoot until the 16th of February, when they returned to Jellalabad.

In November, 1840, the 1st Bengal European Regiment returned to India, and during its homeward march it learned with satisfaction that, under instructions received from the Court of Directors, it had been rewarded by being formed into Light Infantry, and was henceforth to be designated the "1st Bengal European Light Infantry."

On its arrival in India the Regiment went into quarters at Kurnaul, a new station built on a scale of grandeur hitherto unknown in India. Kurnaul had been selected as a suitable site for a cantonment, and barracks had been erected for the accommodation of a strong frontier force, but the situation of the station was soon found to be unhealthy, on account of its close proximity to the irrigation canals, which, from their having been constructed

1841. at a higher level than that of the cantonment, produced a destructive epidemic of fever amongst the troops. The station was in consequence abandoned, and most of the Regiments were removed to Umballa, which henceforth was the principal frontier station.

Notwithstanding that some compensation was granted by the Government, sad losses fell upon the Officers of the Regiments stationed at Kurnaul, as they all had expended very large sums on the erection of houses, &c.

It is beyond our province to more than glance at the horrors and misfortunes which befel so many Officers and soldiers of the "Army of Occupation" soon after the 1st European Light Infantry returned to India.

The cold-blooded murder of the Amir Shah Shujah, assassinated near the Bala Hissar by order of the usurper Zeman Khan, was perpetrated in the following manner. Shah Shujah had started in his palanquin to join his Army, encamped near at hand, when the son of Zeman Khan accompanied by his followers fired a volley into the palanquin, which killed its occupant as well as several of the bearers. The body of the Amir was thrown into a ditch and hacked by the murderers with their tulwars.

On the 2nd of November Sir Alexander Burnes and his Staff
November 2nd, 1841. were attacked and murdered in the Residency at Cabul;* these atrocities being followed by the assassination of the British Resident, Sir William McNaughten, and

* Amongst the Staff Officers who fell on this occasion was Lieutenant William Broadfoot of the Bengal European Regiment. Thornton, in his History of the British Empire, Vol. VI., p. 253, says that Lieutenant Broadfoot was "an Officer whom all reports unite in eulogizing, and whose life" "was dearly paid for by his assailants, six of whom met destruction from" "his hand before it was paralysed by death."

Two days afterwards near Char-ee-kar fell another promising young Officer of the Bengal European Regiment, Ensign Ed. W. Salusbury, who had been specially selected for service with the Amir Shah Shujah's Contingent. Ensign Salusbury, who was desperately wounded at Lughman whilst fighting bravely against overwhelming numbers near the military post of Char-ee-kar, died of his wounds the same night.

his assistant, Captain Trevor; by the imprisonment of Lady Sale 1842.
and all those who accompanied the British in their disastrous retreat from Cabul. The city of Cabul and the Fortress of Ghuznee were wrenched from the hands of the British; and finally the British Brigade under General Elphinstone was annihilated in attempting to force its way from Cabul to Jellalabad.

But ultimately the honour of our arms was fully vindicated, and the death of so many of our countrymen avenged, by the gallant and victorious march of General Pollock from Jellalabad,* and of General Nott from Kandahar. Ghuznee was recaptured, Cabul was re-occupied, Lady Sale and all the English prisoners were released, and the British "Army of Occupation" vacated Afghanistan with honour.

In June, 1842, an "Army of Reserve" was ordered to be formed at Ferozpore, under the immediate command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India; with orders, in case of need, to act as a relieving force to the "Army of Occupation" on its return march from Afghanistan. Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, C.B., was appointed a Brigadier to command the 1st or Light Brigade of the "Army of Reserve," in which was his Regiment, the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry; and, after the arrival of General Pollock's victorious Army within British territory, the "Army of Reserve" was broken up, and the 1st European Light Infantry was ordered to Subathoo, a station situated on the summit of the range of hills between the plains of India and the sanatorium of Simla. Subathoo will ever be remembered as one of the most beautiful spots in the Himalayas. It may fairly be said that—after nearly a hundred years of almost constant warfare, constant exposure to extremes of climate, constant scenes of bloodshed and privation—here was a haven of rest and peace, surrounded by God's most glorious

* Captain John G. Gerrard of the Bengal European Regiment served in the defence of Jellalabad against Akbar Khan, 7th April, 1842 (severely wounded); he also served with General Pollock's force on its victorious march.

1845. and most pleasing works; the valleys teeming with verdure, the hills covered with evergreen pines and silver oaks, and the old half-ruined Fort, that had in former years stood many a siege, with its background of eternal snow.

Early in February, 1845, the author of this work, a boy just eighteen years of age, toiled up the Subathoo hill to join his Regiment; the scene above, but faintly described, suddenly burst upon him as he emerged from the gorge overhanging the grassy plateau which forms the Regimental Parade, forcibly striking his imagination by its glorious aspect, the vision of which can never be erased from his memory.

CHAPTER XV.

1st Bengal European Light Infantry at Subathoo—Origin, Development and Tenets of the Khalsa Faith—Influence of the Seik Religion on the Khalsa Army—Runjit Sing's Plans of Reorganization—Disturbances in the Punjab after Runjit Sing's Death—Ultimate Accession of Dulip Sing to the Throne—The Khalsa Army declares its right to direct the Punjab Government, and Invades the Territories of the East India Company—The Governor-General Declares War—Orders for the 1st European Light Infantry to proceed on Service reach Subathoo—Rapid Preparations and March to Mudki—The Battle of Mudki—Attack on and Capture of the Enemy's entrenched position at Feroz Shah—The British unable to retain their position evacuate the Camp—Recapture of the Entrenchments—General Action against Tej Sing's Army—Retreat of the Khalsa Army, and the British bivouac on the Field of Battle.

IN the early part of the year 1845 the 1st Bengal European Regiment (Light Infantry) was, in point of physique, discipline and smartness, second to none in the British service. Amongst its rank and file there were many service-scarred, gray-haired soldiers, who had passed twenty years in its ranks: men whose lead the younger soldiers were prepared to follow, and whose example they would emulate. An Officer,* whose opinion commands respect, speaks of the appearance of the Regiment at this time as "glorious!" He says, "I saw it stand on parade at Subathoo" "in 1845 close on a thousand strong, and after the battles of" "the Sutlej Campaign it mustered on parade at Lahore two" "hundred and fifty. The rest were killed and wounded." 1845.

At this time the Regiment was commanded by that grand old Officer, Lieut.-Col. Joseph Orchard, C.B., a rigid disciplinarian,

* Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

1845. but a kind-hearted, just man; essentially the young soldiers' friend, whom he was ever ready to assist with his advice and kindly aid. Colonel Orchard had joined the Bengal European Regiment early in the century; his experience and services extending back to some of the greatest victories in Indian history.

It was during the middle of 1845 that Colonel Orchard took leave of absence to England, and was succeeded in the command of the Regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel David Birrell.

There was at this time another Officer present with the Bengal European Light Infantry of whom notice cannot be omitted—Lieutenant Herbert Benjamin Edwardes—a man who commanded the respect of his brother Officers, and whose genial, kindly nature endeared him to all; in education and talents he was superior to most of his comrades, and in sound, clear judgment, and common sense was far beyond his years. In 1845 this young unknown subaltern published, under the pseudonym of "Brahmine Bull," a series of political papers, which immediately attracted the attention not only of the Indian Government officials, but of those in power in England. These letters were believed to be from the pen of a man of high standing and much Indian experience, but when it was surmised that the author was a young subaltern doing duty with his Regiment at Subathoo all officials were sceptical. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, called the young man into his presence, and the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, interviewed him; when it became known that young Edwardes was, both as a writer and as a soldier, the rising man of the day. As a temporary measure Edwardes was appointed an extra aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief; and a few years afterwards his exploits of coolness, courage, and sound judgment caused all England to ring with respect, admiration, and praise.

But though all seemed in the early months of 1845 so like a permanent peace in India, there was a storm gathering not far distant which was shortly to burst upon us

February—May, 1845.

with a fury unparalleled in our Indian history; but before recording the events connected with the coming Seik War, it will be necessary to glance at the circumstances that brought about an invasion, to encounter and repel which called forth all our energies and resources. 1845.

It may be fairly stated that the Sutlej War was quite unprovoked on the part of the Indian Government; the invasion was made by the Seiks in defiance of treaties and at a time of profound repose, and it was incumbent on the British in their own self-defence to exert all their influence and strength to drive the invaders from their soil.

The Seik Campaign, although in no way a religious war, was brought about by reason of the Punjaubees having so intermixed their religious spirit and tenets with their Military system that their Army became the usurper of their civil government; and it was to free themselves from a Military despotism that the Government of the Punjaub encouraged the Seik Army to confront the British, in the hope that it might in some way be relieved from the intolerable bondage in which it was held, and against which it found itself by any other means unable to combat.

The Seik religion varies materially from all other forms of worship in India. Its founder was one Nanuk, a Guru,* born in the year A.D. 1468. At the early age of eleven he became a teacher of men, and soon afterwards had several disciples, to whom he taught his doctrines. Nanuk had studied the writings of the Mahomedan and Hindu fathers, but they had failed to convey his conception of the Deity. He loathed the sensual symbolism of the Hindus, and the ostentatious worship of the Mahomedans was repellent to him. He was desirous of finding a God of simplicity and truth; all-merciful, abhorring war, and a lover of goodwill and peace. He wrote many holy effusions on the unity and attributes of God, and these poems are still held in supreme

* Fakir or Priest.

1845. reverence by the Punjaubees. Nanuk was believed by his followers to have seen God, who had nominated him to be His teacher, and enjoined on him the three simple lessons of (1) the worship of the name of God, (2) of charity to all men, and lastly of ablution. Notwithstanding his great mission and the favours which were supposed to have been conferred on him, Nanuk returned to his home, a disappointed man, and died—1539—feeling that human nature could never aspire to a realization of the knowledge of God, which he sought in vain to obtain.

Nanuk's successors compiled from the writings and traditional sayings of the Guru's the Khalsa Bible, called the "Grunth;" under the authority of which they gained temporal as well as spiritual power, and even aspired to the throne.

The Guru who forms the connecting link between the past history of the Punjab and the invasion by the Seiks of our Indian Possessions was named Hur Govind—1675—under whom the religion of the Seiks for the first time was employed as an adjunct to Military power. At the head of his troops Hur Govind defeated those of the Emperor of Hindustan; thus gaining prestige and power otherwise unattainable. He placed his military organization strictly on a religious basis; and, taking advantage of his priestly office, taught his followers that bravery in battle was an incomparable virtue, whereas cowardice carried with it condemnation and spiritual death. Hur Govind, finding in time that superstition gained ground amongst his people, simplified the dogmas of his faith, forbidding all effigies whatever of the Deity, and all caste differences; "for," said he, "God is one," "and in his presence all men are equal."

Such was the religious organization which was engrafted into the Seik Military system, with the object of creating an Army capable of reducing to subjection any force against which it might be pitted, and during his reign of nearly 30 years Hur Govind succeeded in spreading his tenets amongst the whole Seik nation, who gladly accepted the faith, by embracing which its votaries

became "Khalsas," or "the pure ones;" and thus he inaugurated 1845.
a powerful Military system, and imbued its soldiers with a religious enthusiasm inspiring them with the belief that they were the chosen people of God, and that they must invariably be invincible in war.

Although during the following century the Government of the Punjaub was subdivided into independent districts the Military training and enthusiasm of the Khalsas progressed, and in the year 1780 a Prince was born to them, named Runjit Sing, called the Lion of the Punjab, who by his tact and skill tranquillized conflicting interests and amalgamated the feudal clans, so that when he was seated on the Khalsa throne he ruled over a kingdom more powerful than the Marathas, and more influential than that of the Emperor of Delhie.

It will be in the memory of our readers how, in 1804, Lord Lake, at the head of his flying Column—with which was the Bengal European Regiment—pursued his enemy Jeswant Roa Holkar to the very gates of Lahore, when the Maharaja Runjit Sing mediated between the British and the Marathas, and, refusing to give Holkar an asylum, forced him to put his seal on the compact acknowledging the supremacy of the British over the whole of the Maratha empire.

The Maharaja Runjit Sing, holding the memory and actions of his predecessor Hur Govind in supreme veneration, determined to perfect the great work which he had inaugurated. The Seiks had by this time become essentially a Military nation, their religion and education prepared them for the arts of war; they were men of magnificent physique, obedient, enduring, brave, and unfettered by caste prejudices; but they, in common with all the Eastern nations, failed in the great requisite of capable Commanders. To supply this deficiency Runjit Sing sought and obtained the services of Generals Allard, Avitabile, Court, and Ventura; all men of established ability, who had gained their reputation under the great Napoleon. These Generals, on the

1845. downfall of the Empire—being unemployed—accepted Runjit Sing's offer of service, and were appointed to high Military commands in the Khalsa Army; and by them the French system of drill was introduced, the Seik Regiments completely remodelled, and exercised in Military movements on the European system.

It has been stated in the last chapter that the Marajah Runjit Sing died—27th June, 1839—during the time that the British were employed in the Afghan War. Runjit's death was followed by rapid changes in the Government of the Punjab; within a very few years several successors to the throne having been murdered, the Fort and City of Lahore besieged and captured with all the horrors of rapine, pillage, and murder, terminating in the boy Dulip Sing—the son of Runjit Sing by his favourite wife, the Rani Jinda Kaur—being proclaimed by the Khalsa Marajah of the Punjab.

Scenes of murder, intrigue, and bloodshed were still rife; the boy *Dulip Sing* was closely guarded, and the Rani appointed Regent; with her brother, Jowahir Sing, and her paramour, Lal Sing, forming a triumvirate of which Jowahir Sing was Prime Minister; but a rebellion soon following, Jowahir Sing was arraigned before an Army Council and ordered to be shot, the sentence being carried into effect in the compulsory presence of the Regent and the young Maharaja.

There was no longer any doubt that the Khalsas intended to assert their power to control their Sovereign and their Government; and it was now fully realized that the Gurus had created a Military despotism which paralysed and eclipsed all the functions of their Government.

Lal Sing, who was in constant communication with the Rani-Regent, admitted into their confidence Tej Sing, the Chief of the Khalsa Army, which was the actual ruler of the country.

But matters were rapidly approaching to a crisis; the treasury was exhausted and the Army clamorous for their arrears of pay

to supply which the thought of conquest arose before the minds 1845.
of the soldiers. Why should they not demonstrate their power and replenish their treasure-chest by the invasion of British India, capturing the rich cities of Delhie and Calcutta, and bringing all Hindustan under their sway?

In vain the Rani and many of the influential Sirdars pointed out to the Khalsa troops the perilous nature of their undertaking. But the Seik Army sought excitement, pillage, and conquest. The edict was sent forth; war was proclaimed against the East India Company; and the Khalsa Army, 70,000 strong, with upwards of 100 guns, marched to invade India.

The knowledge that this violent proceeding must ultimately end in defeat and disaster, induced the French Generals in the Seik Service to obtain leave of absence to Europe before the invasion of India had been finally determined on. These Officers had, by their influence, and in the general confusion, amassed large fortunes, which they had from time to time transmitted to France through British agencies; and now, crossing the frontier into the Company's territories, their retreat was secured.

There remained still with the Seiks several European Officers of inferior rank; but when the Army was deprived of the services of such men as Avitabile and Ventura, insubordination quickly appeared in its ranks, and it soon retrograded into the state from which it had been raised by Runjit Sing, at such great expense and with so much judgment.

Tej Sing and Lal Sing were now on the horns of a dilemma. They had both secretly encouraged the Seik Army to make war on the British, as this course appeared to them the easiest way of ridding the country of what had become a source of so much danger; but now the whole Army called on these Sirdars to join the troops and lead them to victory. Lal Sing was no soldier; he loved the society of the Rani far more than joining in what he felt must ultimately prove a hopeless struggle. Tej Sing, on the contrary, every inch a soldier, readily consented to lead the

1845. Khalsa troops; they looking to him with confidence and [illegible]iance to subdue the British in open fight.

One other personage here claims special notice. Golab Sing, the Raja of Jamu, had been solicited to accept the Prime Ministership of the Punjaub Government, but he preferred the comparative peace of his own country. He however possessed considerable power at the Lahore Court, and he now demanded of them their reasons for ignoring the treaties of friendship which had existed between their Government and the East India Company: and asked what cause of offence the latter had given.

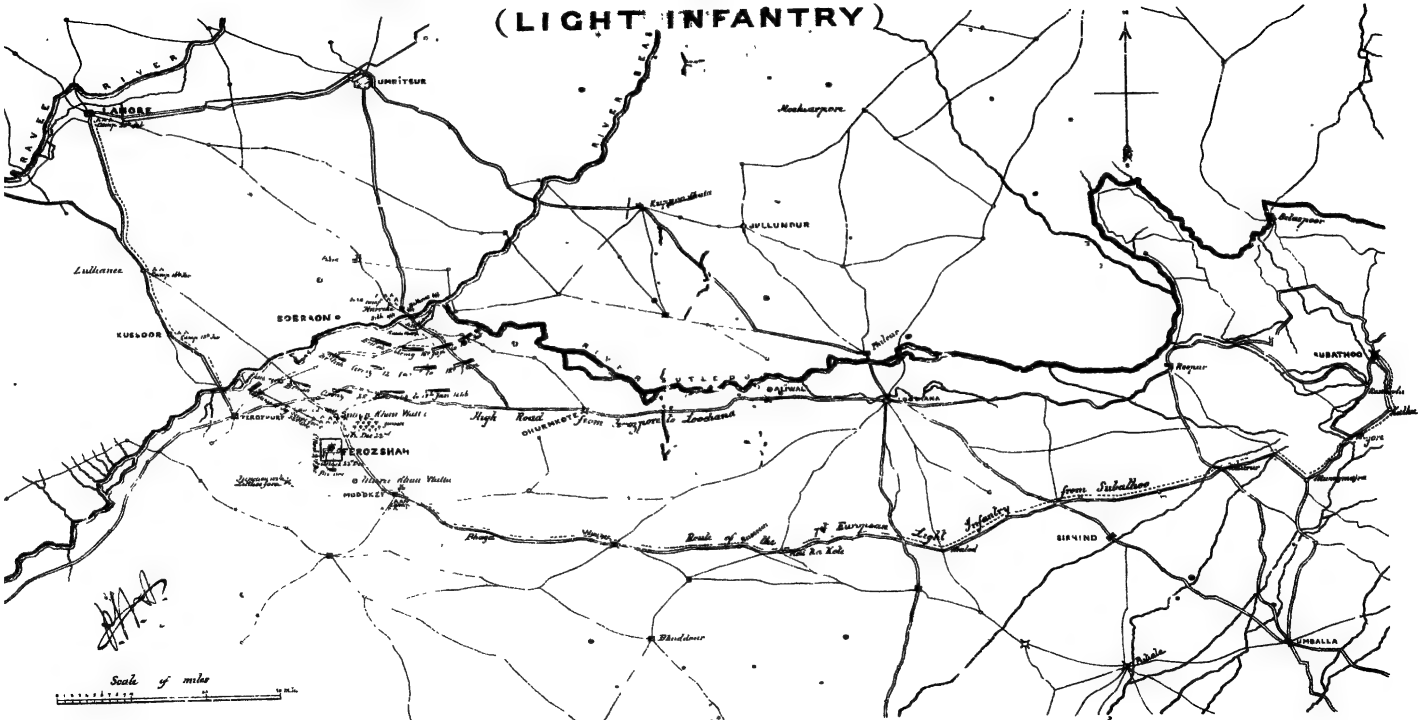
No reply was made to his demand; and Golab Sing, for his own safety, dissembled by promising to raise an Army of 40,000 men, and declaring his readiness to assist the Khalsa; but at the same time he made specious excuses for delay, determining to cautiously await the course of events before committing himself to action.

Lord Ellenborough, before his recall—1844—had foreseen the gathering storm in the direction of our north-west frontier, and intended to form a vast entrenched camp; for which purpose he had already massed troops at Umballa, and increased the British force at Ferozpore; but on his sudden recall this policy was abandoned. Sir Henry Hardinge, his successor, did not anticipate that the Seiks would prove dangerous neighbours; he accordingly substituted a policy of peace, and no step was taken or contemplated which could give umbrage to the Seiks.

On December 11th, the Khalsa Army crossed the Sutlej, and
December 11th, 1845. invaded the British territory; the suddenness of their movements causing something approaching to consternation; the more so as, under the Governor-General's orders, preparations for defence had been abandoned, and we were in no way ready to repel an invasion, although Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, had warned his troops to be on the look-out for a sudden move; but his actions had been so hampered by Government orders that he could not make any active preparations until the Seik thunderbolt had been launched.

SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN

MAP shewing the ROUTE and OPERATIONS of the 1st BENGAL EUROPEAN REGIMENT. (LIGHT INFANTRY)



The Seik Army crossed the river Sutlej, and having made 1845.
two marches, strongly entrenched itself around the village of Ferozshah before reliable information reached the Government of the unprovoked invasion. Fortunately the Governor-General was at this time in the North-Western Provinces. The crisis demanded the full energy and power of all departments. The Commander-in-Chief could issue orders to mass his troops, but this was not all—the troops must be fed, and enormous quantities of carriage must be instantly forthcoming.

As soon as it became known that the Khalsa Army had crossed the Sutlej and taken up its position, as above described, within British territory, the Governor-General no longer placed any restrictions on the actions of the Commander-in-Chief; but published a manifesto, declaring that the responsibility of the war rested with the Seiks alone; that their unprovoked aggression should be severely punished; and British authority preserved over all the countries which had been living under its protection: and, further, that as the Seiks had, by their unprovoked aggression, broken the treaties which had existed between the two nations since 1809, the Seik possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej should be confiscated and annexed to those of the East India Company.

As Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, C.B., was now on leave of absence, the command of the 1st European Light Infantry devolved on Major David Birrell.

At 9 p.m. on the 10th December, 1845, whilst the Officers of the Regiment were at mess, an orderly from Army headquarters galloped in hot haste up to the door of the mess-house, and delivered a dispatch to the Commanding Officer, directing the 1st European Light Infantry immediately to prepare for active service, marching as soon as arrangements could be completed.

December 11th, 1845. Not a moment was to be lost. The Officers proceeded forthwith to the barracks, aroused their men, and ordered them to prepare for their march at once; and at 10 o'clock

1845. the next morning the Regiment was in full march to Kalka, a distance of 19 miles across the hills.

Lieutenant Williamson of the Regiment was left in charge of the station and depôt, and Ensign Hamilton, who was on the sick list, was also left at Subathoo with the Regimental hospital, which contained about 60 men. The soldiers of the Regiment were full of excitement and in the highest spirits at the prospect of the coming campaign.

On our arrival at Kussowlie—a Military Station about ten miles from Subathoo, where was quartered H.M. 29th—we learnt that that Regiment had also marched on the same morning, and it was understood that the two Regiments were to serve in the same Division in the coming campaign.

We found the commissariat arrangements perfect; for on our arrival at the foot of the hills our camp was already pitched, food abundant, and every reasonable comfort prepared for the men.

On the 12th December H.M. 29th Regiment, which had been ordered to halt for our arrival at Munnymarjera, was joined by the 1st European Light Infantry; and the two Regiments then advanced together towards Mudki in charge of some heavy Artillery for the Army. Our Regiments made double marches daily; leaving ground at about 2 a.m., halting for breakfast at about 7 a.m., and after a rest of about a couple of hours marching to the new ground, which was usually reached about 2 p.m.; thus covering from 25 to 40 miles daily.

On approaching Wudni, a fortified town of some importance, much excitement was caused by the receipt of an order from the Commander-in-Chief to the effect that, as the inhabitants of that place had refused provisions to the British force on its forward march a few days previous, H.M. 29th and the 1st European Light Infantry were to reduce the Fort to submission. But when we arrived near Wudni a countermanding dispatch arrived.

"East India Register," May 24th, 1845.

FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY).

(Right Wing.)

"Plassey," "Buxar," "Guzerat," "Deig," "Bhurtpore," "Afghanistan," "Ghuznee."

Station, Subathoo. Arrived, April, 1844.

Season of Appoint.	Rank and Names.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	Remarks
	Colonel.			
1798	Sir J. Bryant, Knt., C. B.	27 June, 1835	M. G 23 Nov., 1841	On Furlough
	Lieut.-Colonel.			
1805	J. Orchard, C. B.	27 July, '36		
1818	George Warren	6 Aug., '43	23 July, '39	Town Major Presidency
	Major.			
	— —			
	Captains.			
1820	James Matthie	8 Sept., '35	M. 22 Nov.,'43	Depy. Commy. Assam
1822	Thomas Box	27 July, '36		
1825	Charles Clark	10 Nov., '43	13 Feb., 41	
—	John G. Gerrard	22 Nov., '43	1 July	Sub. Asst. Commy. General
	Lieutenants.			
1828	Jno. W. Bennett	16 Dec., '35	C. 25 Dec, '43	
1829	H. T. Combe	27 July, '36	C. 23 July, '44	
1835	F. Shuttleworth	20 July, '38		
1837	R. W. H. Fanshawe	3 Oct., '40		
,,	James Pattullo	do.		
,,	Robt. H. Hicks	2 Nov., '41		
1838	Geo. O. Jacob	16 July, '42		
,,	John Lambert	do.		
1840	Geo. G. Dennis	1 Nov.		
1839	Edm. D. Byng	6 Aug., '43		
1840	Southwell Greville	4 Nov.		
,,	H. B. Edwardes	10 do.		
1841	Alex. Hume	22 do.		
1842	J. Williamson	25 Dec.		
,,	E. Cunliffe	23 July, '44		
,,	Thos. Staples	1 Nov.		
	Ensigns.			
1841	H. E. Smith	4 Nov., '43	26 Aug., '41	
	F. W. A. Hamilton	10 Nov.	6 July, '42	
	F. O. Salusbury	8 Dec.	9 June, '43	
	P. Moxon	8 Dec.	do.	
	C. O'B. Palmer	12 Dec.	do.	
	G. H. Davidson	23 Jan., '44	do.	
	M. H. Coombe	8 Oct., '44	30 Dec, '43	
	P. R. Innes	2 Nov., '44	30 Dec., '43	
	C. R. Wriford	29 Jan., '45	1 Jan., '44	
	Edw. Brown	14 March, '45	29 Dec.	

Regimentals, Scarlet. Lace, Gold.

FIRST EUROPEAN REGIMENT (LIGHT INFANTRY).

(Left Wing.)

Season of Appoint.	Rank and Names.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	Remarks.
	COLONEL.		M. G.	
1800	George Hunter, C. B. ...	27 Jan., '41	23 Nov., '41	Comg. Field Force, Sukkur
	LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.			
	— —			
	MAJOR.			
1817	David Birrell	10 Nov., '43	23 Nov., '41	
	CAPTAINS.			
1818	John Ripley	19 June, '31	M. 23 Dec. '42	On Furlough
1819	Wm. Shortreed.....	15 Nov., '36	14 Feb., '35	
,,	Thos. Lysart.....	27 Sept., '37	3 June	
1823	Alister Stewart	5 March, '38		
1827	Jas. Ruth. Pond	1 Nov., '44	22 May, '43	
	LIEUTENANTS.			
1828	Fran. Harrison.....	2 May, 33 ...	C. 4 Dec. '43	On Furlough
,,	Bernd. Kendall	13 Mar., '35	C. 1 Jan., '44	
,,	Douglas Seaton	29 July, '36	C. 1 April	
,,	Edward Magnay	15 Nov., '36	C. 31 Aug.	
1835	John Fagan	9 March, 38		
1836	W. K. Haskwood	10 Aug., '38	...	do.
	ADJUTANT TO THE REGIMENT.			
	D. Seaton	7 March, '45		
	INTR. AND QUARTER-MASTER.			
	— —			
	SURGEON.			
	W. L. McGregor, M.D.	7 Feb., '43 ...		
	ASST. DO.			
	— —			

Facings, Sky-Blue.

informing us that as the rival Armies faced each other, and an immediate action was anticipated, we were to push on to the front with all practicable speed. 1845.

December 13th—18th, 1845. Disappointed as were the soldiers at not being allowed to try their strength on the Fort of Wudni, they still gave many hearty cheers as they passed under its walls, their excitement being vastly increased when, as they advanced, they heard the distant heavy Artillery. This sound was, indeed, a proclamation that the war had now commenced; and fears were entertained that we might arrive too late to take our share in the battle, which in all probability was at that very time raging in front.

Louder and nearer the constant roar of Artillery became as the Regiments with eagerness pushed on; but all became still and calm towards the middle of the day, and we naturally concluded from the lull that a great battle had been won or lost.

December 18th, 1845. In the afternoon we received the welcome intelligence that the victory of Mudki had been gained by our troops; and later on we were assured that our exertions to reach headquarters were, notwithstanding the excitement of the battle, fully recognised both by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief; elephants being sent twenty-seven miles on the road to bring in the footsore men; and a string of camels laden with fresh water for the relief of the thirsty troops on their arid march.

December 19th, 1845. Towards dusk the day after the battle of Mudki had been fought, we neared the British camp, the Governor-General sending out his band to welcome us and play us into camp; but it was late at night before we reached our ground. The baggage and tents of the Regiment were far behind, and the Quartermaster-General had not yet marked out the position where the newly-arrived Regiments were to pitch their tents. The men were much fatigued with their forced marches, but were all excitement to learn the details of the

1845. battle fought on the previous day; and they were therefore allowed to visit their friends who had been engaged in the action, and from whom they learnt the details of the "Battle of Mudki."

The Commander of the Khalsa Army, entrenched around the village of Ferozshah, about ten miles distant from our camp, rightly calculating that the British soldiers would be exhausted by their severe marches, concluded also that they would be easily overwhelmed by a small determined body of chosen Seik troops, and had therefore detached only one Division of his Army, consisting of 10,000 Cavalry, 2000 Infantry, and 22 guns, to attack
December 19th, 1845. the British force; and the report that the enemy was close upon him reached Gough on the 18th of December. Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, had in the meantime placed his services at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and had been appointed second in Command of the Army of the Sutlej. Our soldiers were preparing their dinners when the alarm of the advancing enemy was given, and the bugles and trumpets at once sounded the "Assembly," the troops hastening to the front as the enemy's videttes appeared in sight. Our Regiments quickly deployed into line; our field Artillery taking post in the centre, and the Cavalry on either flank. The main body of our Army was formed hastily in rear of the above advance, and again in rear of them was a small reserve. The enemy's Artillery commenced the action with a heavy fire, and their numerous Cavalry at once visibly out-flanked our line. Gough did not hesitate—he never did—but he gave the order to our Dragoons to speedily advance; and, diverting the attention of the enemy by their brilliant charge, he brought the main body of his Infantry into line, and threw them at the Seiks. After some severe fighting, the Khalsa Army retired in order, foiled in their expectation to take the British at disadvantage and disperse them with their Cavalry; and their plan of action having thus failed they retired regularly, disputing every inch

of ground; and, resisting doggedly, they reached their camp at 1845.
Ferozshah under cover of the darkness.

The British troops had gained a victory; but they discovered that they had no mean enemy to contend with. The English Infantry was numerically superior to that of the enemy in this battle; but the 3rd Dragoons and our Native Cavalry had been pitted against the Khalsa Horsemen, outnumbering us as twenty to one; notwithstanding which odds, the British Dragoons had ridden through and through the enemy, the superior weight of our men and horses carrying everything before them; whilst, on the other hand, the Khalsa Artillery and Infantry had fought bravely and well. We had still to try our strength against the whole Seik Army, having only as yet had a brush with one of their Divisions. On the night of battle it was found that we had indeed captured 17 out of the enemy's 22 guns, but the field of Mudki was covered with the dead and wounded, amongst them being 872 of our soldiers; so that the results of the battle could not be considered altogether satisfactory. Some of our best Officers had fallen; killed or wounded. Amongst the former was General Sir Robert Sale, whose name is so honourably connected with the Afghan War; and amongst the latter Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, of the Bengal European Regiment, who was serving on the Commander-in-Chief's Staff.

This was the news that awaited the 1st European Light Infantry as we reached our ground on the night of the 19th December.

The position for our camp was now marked out; and the baggage having arrived the tents were soon pitched, and the men, worn out by long marches and excitement, hurried to their beds, but not to sleep, for we were soon reminded that we were in the presence of an enemy—a patrol coming round with orders that we were to remain under arms all night.

The next day, 20th December, was one of comparative rest, but in the morning we changed our ground, taking post with the 29th Foot, in the Second Division of the Army.

1845. In the evening, at dinner, private written orders were placed in
December 20th, 1845. the hands of Captains commanding Companies, instructing them to proceed silently with their Officers to the tents of their men at 1 a.m. the next day, as the whole Regiment was to be on parade an hour after the time named. An attack was to be made on the enemy's position. As soon as the servants had left the mess-tent, the Officers talked freely amongst themselves of the engagement which was to be fought on the following morning; one of them only, Captain Thomas Box—"Jerry" Box, as he was familiarly called—showing a total absence of any excitement or emotion. Box had proved himself in many a fight a fearless soldier, and was beloved by his men; but on this night he was in low spirits, and being questioned as to the cause he simply said, "I feel I shall get a shot right slap in the face." This remark caused some merriment; for all knew Captain Box to be constitutionally brave, and none of us believed in presentiment.

We separated for the night, and after a few hours' sleep, the Officers—who were forbidden to give any order to their servants to wake them—were seen moving noiselessly amongst their men, and enjoining silence as they accoutred and prepared for parade. Each man was instructed to fill his can with water, and a piece of bread and ready-cooked meat were served out to be carried in the haversacks; and sixty rounds of ball ammunition were issued to every man.

At 2 a.m. on the 21st December the Regiment was on parade, and before 3 o'clock the whole Army was in position.

The march commenced over the field of Mudki, which was still strewn with the dead; many of ours having been frightfully mutilated since the battle.

The sun, although it was the cold season, was in the middle of the day intensely hot. It being the object of the Commander-in-Chief that a junction of his Army with the Ferozpore Division, under Sir John Littler, should if possible be effected, the two

forces met at 2 p.m., about five miles to the south-west of the enemy's position at Ferozshah, after much marching and counter-marching through the thick jhow jungle and over rough ground, very fatiguing to the soldiers. The troops now took up their respective positions; but for some unaccountable reason the principal attack was ordered to be made on the west face of the Seik entrenchments fronting towards Ferozpore; although it ought to have been known that this was the strongest part of their defences. The entrenchments were in the form of a parallelogram, including within its *enceinte* the village of Ferozshah; and being about a mile in length and half-a-mile in width, the east side facing the open country. 1845. December 21st, 1845.

The force of the enemy within the entrenchments has never been accurately ascertained; it having been given by different authorities at numbers varying from 30,000 to 70,000 men.

Our force in the field consisted of Infantry: seven British Regiments (H.M. 9th, 29th, 31st, 50th, 62nd, 80th, and the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry); Cavalry: H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons, four Regiments of Native and two of Irregular Cavalry; Artillery: seven Troops of Horse and four Companies of Foot, with 42 6-pounders, 24 9-pounders, and 2 siege-guns; in all 68 guns and about 17,000 men.

Major-General Sir Harry Smith commanded the 1st Infantry, or "Reserve Division;" Major-General W. R. Gilbert the second; Brigadier Wallace the third; and Major-General Sir John Littler the fourth or "Ferozpore Division." The 1st Bengal European Light Infantry, H.M. 29th and 80th Regiments being in the second or General Gilbert's Division. At 3 p.m. the troops were in position for attack: General Littler's Division on the extreme left, Brigadier Wallace's in the centre, and General Gilbert's on the right. Sir Harry Smith's Division and the Cavalry in reserve forming a second line.

Sir Hugh Gough assumed the command of the Left and Sir Henry Hardinge of the Right Wing of the Army.

1845. The left of the British line, being ordered to lead the attack, first advanced, whilst the centre and right awaited their turn. At this time videttes of the enemy's Cavalry coming sometimes within fifty yards of our line, the Rifle Company of the 1st Bengal European Regiment was sent to the front to skirmish and drive them back, which they did in good style.

Our Field Artillery now opened fire from some batteries on the right, and some on the left, of General Gilbert's Division; the enemy at once replying from all their batteries on the west and south faces of their entrenchment.

The sound of a sharp musketry-fire to our left soon told us that Littler's Division were nearing the enemy; when our Division (Gilbert's) formed up to advance. At this time an Officer arrived from the direction of Littler's Division reporting that the left attack had failed, and that our troops were retiring. The enemy were naturally triumphant, and their shouts could be heard above the roar of the Artillery; when the order was given for Gilbert's Division to advance rapidly. Major Birrell warned our men to reserve their fire until they sighted the enemy; a wise precaution. Birrell, who commanded the 1st European Light Infantry, rode in the centre; Captain Box, the second in command, on the right; and Captain Douglas Seaton on the left; Ensigns F. O. Salusbury and P. Moxon carrying the Colours.

December 21st, 1845.

As our line approached the enemy's entrenchments, the fire from their batteries increased in violence, the round-shot and grape tearing through our ranks and leaving considerable gaps; and such was the violence of the fire that branches from the trees fell upon us as we advanced, the splintered trunks being scattered around us. Here the fated Captain Thomas Box received the shot he had foretold, which struck him "right slap in the face;" a bullet passed through his head, and he fell from his horse a lifeless corpse. During this advance Captain Kendall, commanding No. 6, and Captain Clark, commanding No. 1 Company, both fell mortally wounded; and Ensign Salus-

bury, his right arm deeply lacerated by a grape-shot, denuding 1845.
the bone throughout its length, fell under the Queen's Colour, which was immediately taken by Ensign P. R. Innes, just as the orders were given to bring down our bayonets and charge home. We were in a few minutes right under the enemy's batteries; but the air was so filled with fire and smoke that it seemed to be as dark as night.

The Seiks had thrown along the edge of their dry ditch stumps and branches of trees, over which our men fell in multitudinous confusion, and as they struggled to regain their footing at the bottom of the ditch their language was anything but choice.

The sloping bank below the plateau upon which the Seik batteries were mounted was about ten feet high, measuring from the bottom of the ditch. Surmounting this in a few seconds our men were amongst the guns, and a desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued for their possession, in which the Seik Artillerymen were bayoneted to a man; revealing immediately behind the plateau, and about six feet below, the Khalsa Infantry drawn up in line, and behind them their tents formed into camp-streets.

During the fight for the mastery of the guns the Seik Infantry had reserved their fire, the British soldiers and the Khalsa Artillerymen being so completely intermingled that the Seik Infantry fire would have been as fatal to their friends as to their foes; but now that their gunners were laid low the British Infantry stood under a galling fire for a few seconds, while they formed in line on the brink of the eminence, and prepared to dash down on the Seik Infantry below. Most of the front rank of the enemy now dropped on one knee as if preparing to receive
December 21st, 1845. Cavalry; and no charge of Cavalry could have been more effective than that of our Regiment, as with a cheer they rushed down the incline upon the Khalsa Infantry below; who first fired a volley, then, either throwing down their muskets or using them as shields, drew their tulwars and rushed

1845. forward to engage in a hand-to-hand fight with our men. The battle now raged with fury along the whole line; compact bands of the enemy again and again dashing at our Colours, and more than once grasping the staves; but the Colour-Sergeants, closing up around them, formed an impenetrable wall, through which even the valour and number of the Seiks could not break. Soon the space below the plateau contained a mingled heap of dead and wounded men; but the Khalsa Infantry had given way, and seeking cover amongst their tents, kept up a severe dropping fire upon our troops in front. But hard work still remained, most of the batteries along the face of the western entrenchments being still held by the Seiks; so wheeling round on its left, the Bengal European Regiment joined H.M. 9th Foot, already inside the entrenchments, attacked the Seik batteries in flank, and rushing transversely along the defences forced the enemy back in broken masses, whilst their guns on the ramparts were captured and spiked.*

Orders were now issued for our Regiment to charge along the centre camp-street of the Seiks, and secure the village of Ferozshah. The soldiers, encouraged by their success, gallantly carried out these orders; but they had not proceeded more than two hundred yards when there was heard beneath their feet a frightful roar; the ground heaved and the men in the vicinity were blown away amongst the tents, the air being filled with fire, and a dense smoke arising, which, as it cleared away, exposed to view a horrible and appalling scene, numbers of our men having fallen frightfully burnt and mutilated, and in some instances their pouches ignited, causing terrible wounds, agony, and loss of life.

The Regiment was now scattered in every direction, about 150 men only joining the Colours after the explosion, which was followed by that of smaller mines, adding to the confusion, but comparatively harmless. Our line was at length re-formed, and

* Before the troops left Mudki, every fifth man of the Bengal European Light Infantry had been supplied with a bundle of spikes and a small hammer —a very necessary precaution.

advanced towards the village, but we returned to the central street on finding that it was already in the possession of our troops. General Sir Harry Smith, having brought up his Reserve Division, had carried some of the batteries on the south face of the entrenchments and penetrated into the very heart of the enemy's camp. After the great explosion numbers of the men of our Regiment, detached and scattered by the convulsion and disorder, were collected by Captain D. Seaton; forming a party which fell in with Sir Harry Smith's Division just after it had entered the camp, and accompanied it into the village. 1845. December 21st, 1845.

Our men now parched with thirst sought water from a well near at hand, but under a galling fire from the enemy concealed amongst the tents. Across a camp-street facing this well a barricade had been formed of half-burnt tents and *débris*, and behind this barricade a group of Seiks brought their fire to bear direct upon the well, where several of our men had fallen; others, nevertheless, pressing forward and seizing the tin pots from their wounded comrades, preferring the immediate prospect of death to the fearful torture of thirst.

Lieutenant Greville was now the senior Officer present with the Colours, and therefore assumed command; forming his men into two Divisions, and placing the Colours in the centre, he gallantly led the charge against the barricade. During our advance the enemy's fire had almost ceased, but as we approached the barricade a volley was suddenly poured upon us, which forced our whole party back upon the well. There was but a moment's pause; the men were re-forming for a second charge, when it was realised that the Regimental Colour had disappeared. Without waiting for orders Ensign P. R. Innes returned alone to the barricade, in front of which lay Ensign Philip Moxon's body, quite dead; he having fallen upon the Colour, which was saturated with his blood.* The December 21st, 1845.

* On the Colour, which now hangs on the walls of Winchester Cathedral, the blood-stains of this gallant young Officer may still be seen.

1845. Colour was hastily recovered and brought back in safety; the soldiers of the Regiment hailing its restoration with shouts of joy. "The recovery of the Colour by Ensign Innes was most" "important, as otherwise it must have fallen into the hands of" "the Seiks."*

Greville now, having formed his men, gallantly led them to a second charge, clearing the street, and this time capturing the barricade. Amidst the excitement which had prevailed during these operations, it had not been perceived that it had suddenly become almost dark; but our men still charged on, clearing the burning tents of every lurking enemy; but the darkness increasing

December 21st, 1845. the "Assembly" was sounded, and our men collected together, when it was discovered, to our dismay, that the Queen's Colour—which after Moxon's death had been handed to Colour-Sergeant Higgens—was nowhere to be seen.

Just then an aide-de-camp came up with orders from the General for all the scattered detachments in the enemy's camp to collect on the plain outside. Every bugler, both in and outside the entrenchments, sounded his Regimental call, making the previous confusion worse confounded.

Lieutenant Greville, still commanding, now ordered his men to recross the entrenchments which had been captured a few hours previous with so much sacrifice of life; and in the darkness the party groped their way towards the direction in which they thought they could distinguish their Regimental call frequently repeated: and, after a full hour's search, the main portion of

December 21st, 1845. the 1st European Light Infantry was found rapidly collecting its scattered men, and forming up for further action. It was now discovered, to the satisfaction of all, that the Queen's Colour which had been entrusted to Colour-Sergeant Higgens was at the Quarter Guard; he, having heard his Regimental call, had, accompanied by some stragglers, reached the Regiment and deposited his charge in safety.

* Extract from a letter from the Officer Commanding.

The Seik entrenchments on the east side were still held by the 1845.
Khalsa Army; who, as soon as they discovered that the British had evacuated the conquered position, reoccupied their entire camp, with the exception of the village, which was still partially held by our troops. The night was bitterly cold, a keen wind blowing over the plain, and the field being strewn with the wounded, who lay upon the damp sand. Piteous were their cries for water, warmth, and help. But there was no water, no warmth; and what help could their comrades afford who needed so much themselves? Some covering had, however, been secured in the enemy's camp, and this was gladly made over for the wounded men.

Gilbert's Division, which was at this time somewhat separated from the rest of the Army, bivouacked to the south of the enemy's
December 22nd, 1845. camp. Between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, it was found that Sir Harry Smith's Reserve Division, who had been forced from the entrenchments, had retreated to a village—Misree Khan Walla—some two miles to the south-east of Ferozshah.

Both Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge, who were now with Gilbert's Division, were indefatigable in their attentions to the wants of the wounded soldiers, going about with a cheering word for all. But they were not so confident as they appeared to be, for they must have felt that the prospect just then was gloomy indeed. The enemy, under cover of the darkness, had recaptured his entire position; and, Sir Harry Smith's Reserve, having been forced from the village of Ferozshah, the Seiks were in undisputed possession of their first ground, after a large and almost fruitless loss of life on our side.

In the early morning, the Seiks brought one of their heaviest guns to bear on Gilbert's Division; the enemy serving this gun with such deadly effect that the soldiers were ordered to lie down, the shot and grape sweeping over them, but still doing fearful damage to the cattle and horses, and passing into the Divisions of our Army on the plain beyond.

1845. Sir Henry Hardinge, who commanded our Wing of the British force, called upon the Bengal European Light Infantry and H.M. 80th Foot, at this time close at hand, to "go and stop that gun."

These Regiments were anxious to be on the move, having been painfully cramped by the cold sand; and now, eagerly springing to their feet, were rapidly formed in line, and advanced at the double, H.M. 80th Foot leading, and the 1st Bengal Light

December 21st, 1845. Infantry in support. The big gun, said to be an 80-pounder, was protected by a strong force of Khalsa Infantry, who, finding themselves attacked by a force of unknown strength, threw forward their supports, who at once opened a sharp musketry fire.

It was exciting to watch the two lines of fire steadily approach each other in the dark; whilst the monster gun in front poured forth double charges of grape and shot. As the British Infantry neared their enemy, there was a forward rush, a hand-to-hand struggle, and the big gun was spiked.* There was, of course, no attempt made to remove the gun, or those which had been captured at the same time in a battery close by; but they were all spiked, and our troops returned to their former position.

Soon afterwards the day began to dawn, and there was now no doubt how seriously our strength had been reduced. At day-break, the European portion of the British force was assembled opposite to the southern face of the enemy's camp, and in the

December 22nd, 1845. bright clear morning it was visible that, although the guns on the enemy's works had been captured, and many of them spiked, on the previous evening, the Khalsa Infantry had again occupied the entrenchments, bidding defiance to our troops as they formed in line preparatory to making their final charge; the Commander-in-Chief leading the right, and Hardinge the left Wing of our Army. The "Advance" was now sounded, and the charge was delivered with a gallantry never

* "The gun was captured by as brave a charge as there is on record."—*Commander-in-Chief's Dispatch.*

surpassed on any field; the Seik entrenchments being again captured at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy driven completely through his camp into the jungles to the north. The east-face of the entrenchments, which had been obstinately held by the enemy on the previous day, was now also captured, as well as the village, from which the Reserve Division had been forced to retire during the night. 1845.

The British troops were now drawn up in line to the north of the captured camp; and as the Commanders rode along the front of their victorious Army, they were loudly cheered.

Many of the Officers and soldiers had rejoined the ranks, tattered, torn, exhausted, and more or less bleeding, but in the best of spirits, and joining in many a joke at their own dishevelled plight.

Scarcely, however, had this cheering ceased, when our Cavalry videttes, who had been sent in front to watch the enemy's retreat, hastily returned, reporting that they had been confronted and driven back by a Reserve Seik Army, coming from the direction of Ferozpore to the succour of the Khalsa troops. December 22nd, 1845.

The statements of the videttes were soon verified; for a dense cloud of dust, which showed the position of the approaching enemy, rose from amongst the jungle towards the direction indicated by our scouts. Nearer and nearer it came; and we soon found ourselves in the presence of a new Army, who were taking up position in our front, either with the intention of covering the retreat of Lal Sing's defeated force, or, probably, to attempt to regain possession of the Seik camp.

This second Army, which out-numbered the British force then confronting it in the field, was under the command of Tej Sing, who had been watching the Ferozpore Garrison with the intention of preventing it from forming a junction with the Commander-in-Chief's force marching from Mudki to Ferozshah. Tej Sing had allowed Littler's Division to escape him,

1845. and pass along the road unopposed, and he now hastened apparently to retrieve his error, and bring assistance to Lal Sing's retreating Army.

Rapidly the position of the British Army was changed; but it soon became evident that our Artillery as well as our Infantry ammunition was nearly expended. The centre of our force, in which was Gilbert's Division, now faced to the west, in front of our fresh enemy; the right and left Divisions, being at the same time thrown back, faced north and south; so that our Army was formed into a large hollow square, with the view of preventing the recapture of the Seik camp. The Khalsa Artillery now, unlimbering, opened a heavy fire on our square, our light field-guns being completely overmatched; and indeed, after we had fired a few rounds only, our ammunition was found to be completely exhausted.

At this time a Staff-Officer rode up to the Regiment, reporting that our Artillery had no more ammunition. Lieutenant J. Lambert, moving forward, called out, "We don't want Artillery;" "we'll take those guns directly, if they will let us at them." In response there was a hearty cheer, but the Regiment was not permitted to advance.

The enemy's fire was now doing terrible execution amongst our troops, and the men were consequently ordered to lie down on their faces, in order to avoid the storm of round-shot; but the enemy had got our range, and in some instances whole sections of our men were riven by the hostile Artillery.

December 22nd, 1845.

Nos. 4 and 5 Companies of the 1st European Light Infantry suffered at this time most severely, some shots killing several men in No. 6, whilst three men in No. 5 Company, lying next each other, were killed; two of them by the concussion of an 18-pound shot which fell amongst them, scattering to atoms the centre man. The position was well-nigh unbearable. The troops, inactive, were simply waiting death, and an order was now issued for our Army

to retire to the plain beyond; whilst some of the Infantry, sup- 1845
ported by Cavalry and Horse Artillery—the latter having left their guns under charge of Infantry—attempted to keep the enemy in check. The Khalsa troops were of course fresh, whilst the British were sinking from sheer exhaustion; having had no food except the scanty supply which they had brought with them in their haversacks from Mudki. The Khalsa Artillery was well provided with ammunition, the British guns were silent. No wonder, then, that the force which Gough had sent to keep Tej Sing's Army in check was driven back with heavy loss.

The European Infantry were now threatened on their right flank by hordes of Cavalry, who emerged from the jungles skirting the plain.

Orders were again given by the Commander-in-Chief to change front; and the movements, performed in presence of the enemy's Cavalry, were executed with creditable steadiness.

We, by this last movement, faced to the north in echelon of Regiments, formed into squares four deep, and prepared to receive Cavalry, though without any ammunition in pouch. It was about 2 p.m., and the enemy's Cavalry were not more than a hundred yards to our front, moving forward as if preparing to
December 22nd, 1845. charge; but, whilst they hesitated, a rush of horsemen was suddenly heard to our rear. The 3rd Dragoons, terribly reduced in numbers but not in courage, were coming to our succour at full gallop, supported by two Regiments of Native Cavalry. Colonel White, commanding the Dragoons, was joined by General Gilbert as they dashed past us into the midst of the enemy, when a hand-to-hand fight ensued. But the Seik Cavalry did not recover the first shock of the charge; they being stationary, whilst our Dragoons came down upon them with their full force and weight. The enemy made a struggle to maintain his ground, but gradually gave way; when the strange spectacle presented itself of hundreds of dismounted men fighting single

1845. combats on the ground, whilst their riderless horses were manœuvring in front of our squares.

No sooner had the enemy's Cavalry been broken and forced back into the jungle, than we learnt, to our surprise, that Tej Sing, with his whole force, was in full retreat; leaving us complete masters of the field.

December 22nd, 1845.

Thus ended the two days' Battle of Ferozshah; in which we had captured and retained the enemy's fortified camp, with 73 of their guns. But our victory had been dearly purchased. Indeed, one-seventh of the British Army had fallen, 2415 being the aggregate of our killed and wounded; amongst the former being 37 Officers and 694 men. The loss of the enemy will never be known; but the entrenchments, indeed the whole field of battle, was strewn with their dead.

The Bengal European Light Infantry lost 51 killed and 164 wounded, including the following 8 Officers:—

Captain Thomas Box (killed).
Ensign Philip Moxon (killed).
Captain Charles Clark (mortally wounded).
Lieutenant Bernard Kendall (mortally wounded).
Lieutenant R. W. H. Fanshawe (slightly wounded).
Lieutenant Beatson—Interpreter and Quartermaster—(severely wounded).
Ensign Frederick O. Salusbury (severely wounded).
Ensign C. R. Wriford (slightly wounded).

The suddenness of Sirdar Tej Sing's unexpected retreat filled the British with conjecture and surprise; for they reflected that he could hardly have been ignorant that his enemies were well-nigh exhausted, their ammunition expended, and the captured camp within his grasp. Tej Sing's hasty retirement from the field may have been the result of an honest desire to cover Lal Sing's retreat; or he may have wished to leave the British masters of the field in order that they might, later on, inflict a heavier blow

on the unruly Khalsa. Be this as it may, the Seik Army had 1845.
been driven from its strongly-entrenched position at Ferozshah, and it had lost 92* of its guns; but it had not been finally vanquished. The Khalsa Army was now in full retreat to a position on the river Sutlej; from which all additional strength, all the strategy and skill of the British Commanders, would be required to dislodge them.

During the afternoon of the 22nd of December, the men of our Regiment were employed in collecting our wounded, who were temporarily housed in the village of Ferozshah, where large quantities of bedding had been found. But up to this time these wounded had been sadly neglected; and Dr. W. L. McGregor, the Surgeon of the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry, is loud in his condemnation of the medical arrangements. He says, "During " "the night of the 21st many a poor wounded European soldier " "found his way to the rear in search of medical aid; but the " "arrangements for affording it were very incomplete excepting " "through the efforts of the Regimental Surgeons who did " "everything in their power with the means at their command. " "As for the field hospital it had no existence, so confidently " "had the opinion been entertained that the Seiks would not " "offer resistance, that it was deemed unnecessary to make any " "arrangements for a field hospital. There were no medical " "stores or surgical instruments on the field, except those attached " "to Regiment hospitals and the hurry of the movements pre-" "vented any sufficient supply from being obtained without " "great delay." †

From the severity of Ensign F. O. Salusbury's wound, before described, combined with exposure and exhaustion, the acute sufferings of that Officer may be easily conceived. But a graver danger awaited him, for his life was saved during the night of the 21st by one of the men of his Regiment, who ran to his

* Nineteen guns were captured at the Battle of Mudki, and 73 at Ferozshah.
† McGregor's "History of the Seiks," Vol. II, p. 115.

1845. assistance just as one of the enemy, close at hand, was in the act of shooting him; and the soldier, drawing the Ensign's pistol from his belt, shot the assailant dead before he could effect his murderous purpose.

Lieutenant Beatson was found to have been shot in the abdomen, the ball having carried a portion of his woollen clothing deep into the wound; and these Officers, with as many of our wounded soldiers as could be collected, were tended during the night by Surgeon McGregor and his assistants, who were conspicuous by their zeal and careful attention.

But there were two—Captain Box and Ensign Moxon—beyond the reach of our Surgeon's skill. The happy, genial Thomas Box—the life of the mess-table, the man who had no enemy, who never spoke an unkind word—was gone from us, causing to all unfeigned sorrow, even during those scenes of excitement and privation; and Ensign Philip Moxon, whose death we have described, carrying the symbol of his Regiment's honour, which he so well sustained, leaving the impress of his heart's blood on his trust as lasting testimony of his brave and dauntless spirit. They both died the death which a soldier may justly prize. They both deserve to have their deeds emblazoned in gold on the Annals of their Regiment, that their successors may honour and revere the names of Captain Thomas Box and Ensign Philip Moxon.

Night now supervened. The wants of the wounded were sup-
December 22nd, 1845. plied; ample provisions and covering brought from the captured camp: fires were soon blazing round; and cattle, rudely slaughtered and cooked, were eagerly devoured by the half-starved groups. At this time the camels, laden with our canteen stores, arrived; and as we sat at night around the blazing fires, talking over the adventures of the previous days, it would hardly be supposed by a strange visitor that we had so lately been engaged in the bloody work of war.

CHAPTER XVI.

Golab Sing's doubtful policy—The Seik defences at Sobraon—Advance of the British Army towards Sutlej—Alarm at the Depôt Stations—Battle of Aliwal—Assault and Capture of the Enemy's Fortifications at Sobraon—After the Battle—Retreat of the remnant of the Khalsa Army—The British Advance on Lahore—Terms of Peace—The 1st European Light Infantry nominated the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers—Return of the Regiment to Subathoo—Death of Colonel Orchard, C.B.—The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers ordered to Cawnpore—Threatened Disturbances in the Punjab—Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes fights the Battle of Kineri and besieges Multan—War declared a second time against the Khalsa—The 2nd Bengal European Regiment to the Front—The Battle of Chillianwallah—Defeat of the Khalsa Army at Goozerat—Demoralisation and flight of the Khalsa—The 2nd Europeans in pursuit—Annexation of the Punjab—The 2nd Europeans nominated the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.

IMMEDIATELY after his defeat at Ferozshah, Lal Sing hastened to Lahore with the news of the disaster; and during his absence Tej Sing assumed the sole command of the Seik Army in the field. He at once applied to the Lahore Durbar for additional troops, having in view the promises of assistance which had been offered by Golab Sing, the Raja of Jamu. But, after the defeats which had been sustained by the Khalsa Army, Golab Sing was more than ever doubtful of the advisability of espousing the Seik cause; moreover, he shrewdly suspected that the Commanders of the Seik Army had been playing a double game, and he was unwilling to expose his soldiers to the risk of being sacrificed in order to further the interests of the Lahore Durbar. Under these circumstances, Golab Sing determined to watch the course of events, and not at present commit himself to any decided course of action.

1846. Under Tej Sing's orders, the Khalsa Army hastily recrossed the Sutlej, near the village of Sobraon, and encamped within the territories of the Punjab, on the right bank of the river below its junction with the Bias.

The enemy's plan of defence, suggested by their European Engineer Officers, was well designed, although in its execution the details were somewhat defective, from the works having been apportioned for execution amongst the different Commanders of Seik Regiments; this arrangement naturally resulting in a want of uniformity, and in some instances in weak construction.

An admirably-designed pontoon-bridge was thrown across the river; the end on the left or south bank being defended by earthworks, which the enemy intended to strengthen and extend day by day, as time and opportunity might be afforded.

The Seik Commander had constructed another bridge of boats, about twenty miles further down the river, which was guarded by a strong force of Cavalry.

The British Commander-in-Chief, as we need hardly state, felt himself unable to immediately follow up the advantages which he had gained at Mudki and Ferozshah; and, consequently, he determined to await the arrival of the Meerut force ordered to the front under Sir John Gray, and of our heavy guns, escorted by the 9th and 16th Lancers, and H.M. 10th and 53rd Foot; for, although this delay enabled the enemy to strengthen their entrenchments on the Sutlej, it was deemed prudent not to risk another general engagement until these reinforcements should have arrived.

December 28th, 1845—January 12th, 1846.

On the 28th of December the British Camp was advanced about ten miles nearer to the enemy's position, Sobraon; the left of our Army now resting on the village of Altari, and circling round from that point in an easterly direction; and on the 12th of January, 1846, a further forward movement of about eight miles was made.

The British Army was now gradually closing on its enemy; 1846.
but it must be borne in mind that the Seik bridge of boats constructed across the river always afforded them a means of escape.

During the time that Sir Hugh Gough was awaiting the arrival of his reinforcements under Sir John Grey, he dispatched the 1st Division of the Army, under Sir Harry Smith, with orders to reduce the Fort of Dhurrumkote; to cover the march of the Meerut force; and afford relief to our Station of Lodiana; which was threatened by a Seik Army of considerable strength, advancing from Phillour, under the command of a well-known Seik General, Runjour Sing.

The alarm occasioned in the neighbouring Hill, and other British Stations, when it became known that Lodiana was threatened, amounted to a panic. The object of the enemy's General was, not only to possess himself of Lodiana, but to
January. 18th, 1846. swoop down by a rapid movement upon one of our Native detachments, which was escorting some of our siege-guns along the high road to his south; and had Runjour Sing succeeded in his purpose, nothing would have been easier than for him to detach small parties of his troops to plunder our Stations, which had been almost denuded of Military protection—the sick in hospital, and a small guard of soldiers only, having been left to protect the wives and families of those employed in the field. At Subathoo—where was the depôt of the 1st European Light Infantry—as well as at Simla, Kussowlie, and Umbala, the greatest consternation prevailed. Lieutenant Williamson, who it will be remembered was left in charge of the depôt at Subathoo, with the women, children, and sick of our Regiment, having but scanty means of defence at his disposal, sought and obtained the advice of General Tapp, residing in retirement near Subathoo, who had served with the Bengal European Regiment as far back as 1803; and under this experienced Officer's advice, wise precautions were adopted

1846. for the safety of the Station and troops. Fortunately, the success of Sir Harry Smith's Division at Aliwal, where he gained a signal victory over Runjour Sing's Army on the 28th of January, dissipated the fears of the unprotected Stations, and confidence was again restored.

On the 18th January a further forward move was made by the British Army in the direction of Sobraon, which was now completely invested, both the right and the left of our Army resting near the banks of the Sutlej; so that the enemy's position, which was at the bend of the river, was, so to speak, within the grip of the British Army.

The news of Sir Harry Smith's victory at Aliwal reached the Headquarter camp on the same day on which it was fought (28th January, 1846). No difficulty had been experienced in reducing the Fort of Dhurrumkote; and although the enemy, had captured Smith's camp equipage and baggage at Budiwal, he, by the rapidity of his movements, had saved the Station of Lodiana, and then completely defeated his enemy in open fight at Aliwal. The news of this victory was hailed by the Headquarter Army with great joy, for it relieved the anxiety of those Officers and soldiers whose families were left at their Regimental depôts. A Royal salute was fired on the early morning of the 29th, announcing the victory of Aliwal; but the Seiks, now entrenched only a short distance in front of our camp, either in defiance—or possibly because they wished to keep their troops in ignorance of our having gained a victory over Runjour Sing—imitated our example, not only by firing a Royal salute, but by their bands turning out in front of their entrenchments, and playing our "National Anthem."

January 29th—February 9th, 1846.

During the time that we had been awaiting the arrival of our heavy guns, the enemy had been daily strengthening his position, until it now formed an extensive semi-circle around the *tete-du-pont* on the south bank of the river. Their entrenchments had been gradually

extended; now forming a succession of earthworks enveloped in 1846.
outer batteries of enormous strength. Those on the left and centre faces of their position were the strongest and most massive; but, though those on the right face were not constructed in so scientific a manner, they were strengthened by masked batteries on the right bank of the river.

The Commander-in-Chief gives the following description of the enemy's position at Sobraon. He says, "The enemy's works" "had been repeatedly reconnoitred during the time of my" "Headquarters at Nihalkee (Akhberwala) by myself, my depart-" "mental staff and my Engineers and Artillery Officers. Our" "observations, coupled with the reports of spies, convinced us" "that there had devolved on us the arduous task of attacking in" "a position covered with formidable entrenchments no fewer than" "30,000 men the best of the Khalsa troops with 70 pieces of" "cannon united by a good bridge to a reserve on the opposite" "bank on which the enemy had a considerable camp and some" "Artillery commanding and flanking the field works on our" "side."

In the early days of February, the Division of the Army which had been detached, under Sir Harry Smith, to operate against the Seik force under Runjour Sing, had rejoined the headquarter camp; and the siege guns, with the Meerut force under Sir John Grey, had arrived; so that, on the 9th of February, Sir Hugh Gough was enabled to form his plan for the attack of the enemy's position.

As has already been stated, the right face of the enemy's works was considered the most vulnerable; because, although it was flanked by a battery on the north bank of the river, there were but few guns on this face of the entrenchments; and consequently it was determined to make their right the first point of our attack.

The Commander-in-Chief in his despatch thus describes his disposition of the British force:—

"On the margin of the Sutledge on our left two Brigades of"

1846. "Major-General Dick's Division under his personal command"
"stood ready to commence the assault against the enemy's"
"extreme right. The 7th Brigade, in which was the 10th Foot"
"reinforced by the 53rd Foot and led by Brigadier Stacey was"
"to head the attack supported at 200 yards distance by the 6th"
"Brigade under Brigadier the Hon. T. Ashburnham which"
"was to move forward from the entrenched village of Rhodawala,"
"leaving if necessary a Regiment for its defence. In the centre"
"Major-General Gilbert's Division was deployed for support or"
"attack, its right resting on the village of Little Sobraon."

This plan of operations having been arranged, it was decided that the attack on the enemy's entrenchments should take place on the following morning (10th February, 1846); and secret orders were accordingly issued to commanding Officers. During the 9th of February three Officers joined the 1st European Light Infantry, viz:—Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, C.B., and Ensigns Hamilton and G. C. Lambert. Colonel Orchard had cancelled his leave of absence to take command of the Regiment in the field, but, to the universal regret of our Officers and men, an unforeseen difficulty presented itself: Colonel Orchard, being senior to some of the Brigadiers in command, and the arrangements for all the Brigades for the next day's attack having been completed, Orchard was promoted to the rank of Brigadier, and appointed to act as second in command of the 7th Brigade.

Ensign Hamilton, who had been left with the depôt, had now so far recovered, that his earnest request to be allowed to join his Regiment in the field was granted, and he had hastened, at considerable risk, to join headquarters. Ensign George C. Lambert, a young Officer who had just been gazetted to the Regiment, had hastened up the country, eager to take his share in the campaign; his brother, Lieutenant J. Lambert, was one of the most gallant Officers in the Regiment, and the young Ensign met with a hearty reception for his brother's sake.

Experience had taught most of us that we had no light work

before us on the morrow. When we separated after our mess-dinner, before the battle of Ferozshah on the 20th of December, 1845, many of the Officers were strangers to the realities of war; but before we separated after mess, on the 9th of February, 1846, a ceremony was performed, at the Commanding Officer's request, which savoured more of serious reality than it would have done on the previous occasion, when all, with the exception of Captain Thomas Box, were light-hearted and merry. Addressing the Officers of the Regiment, Colonel Birrel reminded them of the many absentees who had fallen since the commencement of the campaign; and he enjoined on all Officers present to shake hands, so that, should there have been ill-feeling on the part of any, it might end for ever. He reminded us that we had a perilous undertaking before us on the next day; and that, to a certainty, we should not all meet again at the next mess-dinner. There was a solemnity in Colonel Birrell's address, and the ceremony enjoined had the effect of cementing old friendships, and in some cases healing ill-feeling which might otherwise have existed for years, perhaps till death. All the Officers present solemnly shook hands and retired to their tents, but not to sleep; for there were letters to be written home, many of them the last. It was not till past midnight that all the lights in the camp were extinguished; and two hours afterwards we were forming on parade, and taking up position with our separate Brigades and Divisions.

1846.

February 9th, 1846.

The enemy was evidently not aware of our intended attack. There was dead silence in his camp as we noiselessly approached under cover of a dense fog, which prevented our seeing more than a few yards ahead, and rendered the taking up our allotted positions a matter of some difficulty.

February 10th, 1846.

Gilbert's Division—in which were the 1st European Light Infantry—faced the north, right opposite to the centre, the strongest part of the enemy's entrenchments.

The rising sun rapidly dispelled the fog—which suddenly rose in a dense cloud—when a magnificent picture presented itself.

1846. Our Artillery was now seen in position awaiting orders to open fire, and the plain was covered with our troops; the fortified village of Rhodawala on our left being filled with our Infantry. As the fog cleared, our mortars and siege-guns opened a simultaneous fire, and the enemy appeared now for the first time to realize their danger.

The Seik drums beat the alarm; their bugles and trumpets sounded to arms; and in a few minutes the whole of the enemy's batteries were manned, and their guns pouring shot and shell in the direction of our troops.

Gilbert's Division was ensconced under cover of the banks of the dry bed of a small river, which partially encircled the outer works of the enemy's position. The action was commenced by an Artillery duel, which lasted about two hours; when Gough was informed that our ammunition was nearly expended. Immediate orders were now given for the two Brigades on our extreme left* to carry the right entrenchments of the enemy.

From the dry bed of the river we had a splendid view of the advance, and the effect of the attack. The Bengal Horse Artillery —than which there were no finer or more efficient Artillery in the world—came forward at full gallop; and, suddenly halting and unlimbering their guns at a distance of only three hundred yards from the enemy, opened a regular and rapid fire. As the Infantry advanced to the attack this fire was slackened, and as the final charge was made it ceased. The Infantry charge was at first decided and effective; the entrenchments being carried at the point of the bayonet without a musket-shot having been fired, and the enemy forced back on its inner works. Now, for the first time, our Commander's plan of action seemed to dawn upon the Seiks, and they hastened to redeem their want of foresight; rapidly concentrating their whole strength in their weaker right

February 10th, 1846. defences; and, utterly disregarding feints which had been made towards their centre and left, their troops

* Under Major-General Dick.

rushed towards their right, bringing with them many of their 1846.
field-guns, which they rapidly placed in position to cover their advancing Infantry. They apparently felt that if they could regain possession of their entrenchments on their right, we could not with our whole strength carry the more formidable fortifications on their centre and left. The first British Division wavered, under the overwhelming force which was bearing down upon it; and amidst the shouts of the enemy, now redoubling their efforts, Dick's Division began gradually to lose ground, nobly disputing every inch, but evidently unable to hold the batteries which they had captured, and which were quickly wrenched from their grasp and re-occupied by the enemy.

The 2nd Brigade of our left Division now charged forward in support, and Ashburnham's Reserves pushed gallantly to the front; but it was of no avail; our 1st Division, as well as the Reserve, vastly outnumbered and overmatched, being all forced back.

The first part of Sir Hugh Gough's programme having failed, there was but one course left; the feint attacks of our centre
February 10th, 1846. and right must at once be converted into real assaults. The demonstration which Gilbert's Division had made on the enemy's centre had the effect of drawing the fire from his strongest batteries on it; this being part of Gough's plan. He wanted the attention of the enemy to be diverted from their right; so he arranged that Gilbert's (the centre) Division should be protected from the fire which it must necessarily attract, by taking advantage of the cover afforded by the dry bed of the nulla; but now it was called upon to make a real attack upon the batteries from which it had just attracted the enemy's heaviest fire.

Relieved from the pressure on their right, the enemy had swarmed to their centre and left batteries just as the order arrived for Gilbert's Division to assault, and Sir Hugh Gough, who was watching the movement, was heard to exclaim: "Good" "God! they will be annihilated."

1846. The fire from the enemy's heavy guns in their centre batteries, their zamburucks,* and musketry, was terrific; and the air, charged with sulphur, was stifling, and so heated that it was almost unbearable. Now on rushed the Bengal European Regiment, with a determination which promised to carry everything before it; soon reaching the ditch which formed the outer defence, and springing into it, they found themselves confronted by the massive walls which in the distance had appeared less formidable, for they now found these works too high to escalade without ladders. To retire was again to encounter the storm of fire through which they had just passed, to remain in their present position was annihilation; therefore, the Regiment, mortified and chagrined, was forced again to seek shelter under cover of the bank of the dry river which it had left but a short time before. During our advance several Officers and men had fallen; Captain Shuttleworth being shot dead, and Ensigns Hamilton, Davidson, and Innes struck down, as well as many of our soldiers killed and wounded.

As our Regiment was retiring the enemy sent out their dismounted Cavalry to cut up those who had fallen; and these men barbarously murdered many of our wounded who might otherwise have found their way to our camp in safety.

On reaching the dry bed of the river it was found that Brigadier McLaren, commanding our Brigade, was mortally wounded, and Colonel Birrell, the next in seniority, assumed command of the Brigade; the command of the 1st European Light Infantry devolving on our Adjutant, Brevet-Captain Douglas Seaton, who, rapidly forming up the Regiment and instructing his Officers to rush at the embrasures and spike the enemy's guns, led them to their second charge. Having taken ground to its left the line now boldly advanced; but it was a second time hurled back. A third time the Bengal Europeans, having inclined further to the left, charged with a hearty cheer

February 10th, 1846.

* 1-lb. swivel guns.

and a determination which no fire could check; dashing forward 1846.
without halt or hesitation this time, notwithstanding that the ranks were thinned at every step. The embrasures were now reached, the foremost men having been propped up on the shoulders of their comrades; shouts of joy rang through the ranks as the little parties who had gained a footing found their numbers inside the batteries increasing; and a rush was made at the enemy's heavy guns, which were now captured and spiked.

The glad news soon reached us that, as the mass of the Seik Army had been withdrawn from the weaker entrenchments on the right to enable them to repel our repeated attacks on centre and on left, the 1st Division and its reserves under Ashburnham had successfully renewed their attack on the enemy's right, driven them from their entrenchments and recaptured their guns.

February 10th, 1846. From our right also came the welcome intelligence that the enemy's batteries had at last been carried at the point of the bayonet; so that now the whole semicircle of the enemy's outer batteries was in our possession. The Bengal European Light Infantry, as well as our other troops, now faced the inside of the enemy's works, which were found to be a succession of entrenchments concentrating on their *tete-du-pont*.

From our right-centre and left our troops pushed forward, dislodging the enemy step by step towards their bridge. "No" "Seik offered to submit, no disciple of Govind asked for" "quarter. Everywhere they showed a front to the victors and" "stalked slowly and sullenly away, whilst many rushed singly" "forth to meet assured death."*

This was no time for mercy or clemency; the soldiers of the British Army had just passed over the dead bodies of their comrades, many of whom had been ruthlessly and barbarously hacked to pieces by the Seiks; our men thirsted for revenge, and a terrible revenge they wreaked upon their enemy.

Step by step the Khalsa Army was forced back in the direction

* Cunningham's "History of the Seiks," p. 328.

1846. of their bridge, the pressure on which became so great that the sides broke away. Nature also seemed to conspire against the Seiks, for since the morning the river Sutlej had suddenly and unexpectedly risen some seven feet, so that the ford was not now passable; and, worse than all, the centre boat of the bridge—which it was said had been loaded with powder, so that it might if necessary be exploded to prevent pursuit—had been removed.* There was now nothing but death both before and behind the enemy; their mounted Officers, grey-bearded old chieftains, waved their swords high in the air, calling upon their men with shouts and gestures to drive the British from their camp, and thus vindicate their honour and maintain their faith. These brave Officers scorned to attempt to save themselves; Sirdars Sham Sing Attariwalla—who had frequently fought under Runjeet Sing—Kishen Sing, Gulab Sing Kupti, Hira Sing, and many other well-known Chiefs, conspicuous for bravery, being all killed at the head of their respective commands in attempting to check the British onslaught.

The enemy still endeavoured to rally, but the pressure was too great; many thousands being precipitated headlong into the river; and as our soldiers, flushed with victory, hurled the Khalsa into the rapid stream, our Artillery opened a galling fire of grape and shrapnell on the fugitives, rolling over the helpless writhing masses as they struggled in the water. If it be true that Lal Sing and the Lahore Durbar had schemed the destruction of the Khalsa Army, they could not have succeeded more completely; for there had been in India no such slaughter since the Battle of Buxar, 1764, when the dead of Shuja u'd daulah's Army formed a mole, over which the defeated survivors effected their escape. The river Sutlej, after the Battle of Sobraon, was the Golgotha of the largest proportion of the Khalsa Army.

February 10th, 1846.

* It was asserted immediately after the battle that this boat had been removed by one of the Khalsa Sirdars, to cut off the retreat of any Seik fugitives from their front.

The Governor-General, in his Notification published four 1846.
days after this victory, refers to it as being "one of the most "daring ever achieved, by which, in open day, a triple line of" "breastworks, flanked by formidable redoubts, bristling with" "Artillery, manned by 32 Regular Regiments of Infantry was" "assaulted and carried."

Thus ended the storm and capture of the last Seik stronghold; and thus virtually terminated the Sutlej Campaign. The enemy lost between 8000 and 10,000 men, 60 pieces of heavy Artillery, and upwards of 200 camel swivel guns (zamburucks); but this grand result was not achieved without an immense sacrifice of life on our side.

During the advance of the 2nd or General Gilbert's Division, 689 men fell within half-an-hour; the 1st European Light Infantry losing 12 Officers, 12 Sergeants, and 173 of rank and file; their gallant General Gilbert being also wounded at the head of the Division, and Brigadier McLaren, who commanded our Brigade, and was referred to by the Commander-in-Chief in his dispatch as "one of the ablest of the senior Officers of the" "force," being mortally wounded whilst leading us to the assault.

This Officer was beloved by the 1st European Regiment, having endeared himself by his genial, kindly, fatherly bearing towards those who served under him; and his death was deeply lamented.

It must be borne in mind that our Regiment had suffered so severely at the Battle of Ferozshah as to muster little over 400 when it went into action at Sobraon. Of this number 197 fell in the latter battle; so that nearly one-half of the combatants was either killed or wounded during the three assaults on the enemy's stronghold at Sobroan.

Of all ranks in the British Army there were killed at Sobraon 320; and wounded 2063, making a total of 2383.

Before noon the battle was over, and the enemy had been driven from the Company's territories. A strange calm succeeded

1846 the furious tumult which had raged since early morning. Then came the sad duty of burying our dead and collecting our wounded. Twenty-seven brave men of our Regiment were placed in one grave on the bank of the dry bed of the river from which they had made their three gallant assaults.

The enemy were allowed to return to the left bank of the Sutlej for the same purpose, but they contented themselves with carrying away a few only of the bodies of their leaders; amongst which was that of their grand old General Sirdar Sham Sing; those not removed being left as food for the jackal and the vulture.

The scenes in camp that afternoon and during the whole night were sad in the extreme—the watching beside the bed of a dying comrade, the stillness of the night broken only by the groans from the amputating tents—there was no chloroform in those days—these are the realities of war.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded Officers of the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry at the Battle of Sobraon:—

Killed.

Lieutenant F. Shuttleworth.
Ensign F. W. A. Hamilton.

Wounded.

Lieutenant J. Lambert (mortally).
Ensign G. H. Davidson (mortally).
Lieutenant G. G. Denniss (severely).
Lieutenant A. Hume (dangerously).
Lieutenant T. Staples (returned slightly wounded, but part of foot amputated)
Lieutenant D. C. T. Beatson (died next day).
Ensign G. O. B. Palmer (slightly).
Ensign P. R. Innes (slightly).
Captain E. Magnay (severely).
Lieutenant J. Pattullo (severely).

When the 1st European Light Infantry left Subathoo on the 10th of December, 1845, there were present 24 Officers, and 2 joined afterwards; making a total of 26. 1846.

At the battle of Ferozshah and the storm and capture of Sobraon, 9 Officers were killed and 11 less severely wounded; thus a total of 20 out of 26 Officers formed the casualty list during the campaign.

The 1st European Light Infantry which had been 640 strong—after having left its sick in hospital, and men on duty with the Depôt at Subathoo—lost 406 rank and file killed and wounded; there being left for duty with the headquarters of the Regiment on the 11th February only 6 Officers and 230 rank and file. February 11th, 1846.

If the loss of a Regiment during a campaign be any indication of its good services, then assuredly the 1st European Light Infantry must be admitted to have fought well indeed; for seldom has a Regiment shown such a casualty list in any single successful campaign.

Would that we could place on record the name of every Non-Commissioned Officer* and private soldier who signally distinguished himself and deserves special mention, for many were the individual heroic deeds which can only be known by the general result; but the Officers who fell were our intimate friends and companions, their many kindly, brotherly acts bringing their memory more strongly before us.

Of Lieutenant John Lambert, McGregor in his "History of the Seiks," says, "To speak of him as merely a brother Officer" "would be doing injustice to his memory, he was *our* friend, the" "friend of the writer of these pages, and never have we known" "a more zealous, or enthusiastic soldier, or one who more fully" "sustained the honor of his profession. He had talents of no" "ordinary kind, and had he been spared, poor Lambert would"

* Sergeant-Major Moore of the 1st European Light Infantry was promoted to the rank of Ensign for distinguished services in the field at Ferozshah and Sobraon.

1846. "have been an honor to the fair town of Alnwick which gave" "him birth; but, he died the death he coveted, fell fighting" "side by side with his gallant companions before Sobraon," "universally lamented by his brother Officers." Captain R. C. Napier, afterwards the hero of Magdala, says, "I saw that fine" "boy—Lambert—after Sobraon in the Ferozpoor Hospital," "with one leg amputated, full of the same spirit that he had" "displayed at the Battle of Ferŏzshah; but he did not recover." The author re-echoes McGregor's words. John Lambert was indeed "an honor to his profession."

Ensign Fred Hamilton was—as has been previously narrated—left on account of ill-health with the depôt of the Regiment when it went on service against the Seiks. It was a sore trial, and he begged with tears to be allowed to accompany his Regiment, but the Surgeon was inexorable; but no sooner was his health sufficiently restored than he, at considerable risk, hastened to his post, too late to take part in the Battle of Ferozshah; but alas! in time to meet his death at Sobraon, where this handsome, gallant, brave young Officer lay a mangled corpse before the outer fortifications. He was shot down during the first advance, and in this helpless condition was cut to pieces by the enemy who sallied forth from the embrasures as the Regiment was driven back.

Lieutenant Shuttleworth fell early in the day; he was not, like young Hamilton, hacked and mutilated, but shot dead; and it does not appear that he moved after he fell. Shuttleworth, when our Regiment was ordered on Service, had obtained leave of absence to visit his home in England, but the rude blast of war cancelled his furlough; and, whilst those near and dear to him were expecting his immediate return, he was lying under the cold earth close to the field of battle at Sobraon.

There was also Gordon Hugh Davidson, the companion and dearest friend of the author. No one knew him so intimately, no one so appreciated his noble, honest nature, his sterling worth. McGregor speaks of him as "uniting the daring courage of a soldier"

"to the meekest, mildest spirit." He was, indeed, brave as he was 1846.
good. Gordon Davidson was shot by a musket-ball in the right breast, during our first advance, and was conveyed to the field hospital. The bullet was extracted from his spine, and so he was brought to our tent. We had left it together that morning full of hope and joy, but now his face was shrunken and wan and hardly to be recognized. That night fever supervened, with parching thirst, a weary, helpless look, the last message—the glassy, fixed eye, a deep groan, and all was over. McGregor continues, "Had" "a brother fallen the grief could not have been more poignant" "than was that of his young companion in arms who shared the" "same tent with him, and also watched his departing spirit." McGregor never wrote more truly.

Shuttleworth, Hamilton, and Davidson were buried on the evening succeeding the battle, in a small grove of trees close to
February 11th, 1846. our camp. It was almost dark, the moon fitfully shining out, the dead march played by our band being the only sound as the funeral *cortege* moved along; this was so small that a stranger casually passing might perhaps have thought that the dead Officers had but few friends. Alas! they were followed to their graves by all their companions who had survived the bloody campaign—six brother Officers.

Early on the morning of the 12th of February our camp was struck, and we advanced towards Ferozpore, where a double bridge of boats had been constructed; and, on the 13th the whole force, with the exception of our heavy Artillery train, crossed the Sutlej; and, making a rapid march, encamped at Kusur, in the Punjab, sixteen miles from Ferozpore, and about thirty from Lahore.

The remnant of the Khalsa Army, after the battle of Sobraon, had encamped at Raebam, about eighteen miles east of Lahore; and with them were their Commanders Tej Sing and Lal Sing; the Citadel of Lahore being guarded by Golab Sing's troops.

On the 15th of February a number of Seik Chiefs, escorted

1846. by Cavalry and bearing a white flag, were seen to approach the British camp; it was the Raja Golab Sing, who arrived with full credentials from the Maharaja of the Punjaub, to beg pardon in the name of the Lahore Durbar, for the offences which had been committed by their Army against the British power, and to endeavour to negotiate terms of peace.

The Governor-General assembled his principal Officers, and received the Raja in Durbar, but all the usual forms and ceremonies were purposely omitted; the Raja advanced and offered to the Governor-General nuzzurs—complimentary presents—but these were refused.

The following were the principal terms demanded by the British Government; and accepted by Golab Sing on the part of the Lahore Durbar:—

1. The surrender of the Seik territory lying between the Bias and Sutlej rivers.

2. Payment of one-and-a-half crores of rupees (1½ million sterling), as indemnity for the expenses of the war.

3. The disbandment of the present Seik Army, and its reorganization on an improved system, to be determined on in communication with the British Government.

4. The surrender of all the guns which had been employed against us.

5. The British to have complete control of both banks of the river Sutlej.

The Governor-General then directed that the Maharaja Dulip Sing should be brought to the British Camp, which advanced the next day to Lulliana; where the young Maharaja, in obedience to the Governor-General's order, arrived with his Chiefs, and at once tendered his submission.

The usual salutes and other ceremonies were at first omitted, but on the Maharaja accepting the proffered terms, asking pardon for the offences committed by his Army, and begging that he might be restored to the friendship of the Governor-General,

the nuzzurs were again presented and this time accepted; and 1846.
the Durbar broke up under a full salute.

With this treaty terminated what may be called the first chapter of the conquest of the Punjab.

The British Army was now informed that as it was the intention of the Indian Council to re-establish the Seik Government at Lahore on friendly terms, that city would be protected from
February—March, 1846. pillage; and our soldiers therefore were ordered to receive one year's extra "batta" in lieu of plunder. The Rani, it was understood, promised a like amount; but it was well known that she had not the means, even if she had the inclination, to fulfil her promise.

The British Army encamped on the plain outside the walls of Lahore on the 20th February; and now that the carrying out of the terms of the treaty had been satisfactorily arranged, orders were issued for the breaking up of the "Army of the Sutlej" and the return of the troops to Hindustan.

Lal Sing was appointed to the Vazirship of the Lahore Durbar, and Tej Sing was nominated to the Chief Command of the Khalsa Army; both appointments being made with the approval of the Governor-General. But Lal Sing and Tej Sing felt that not only their positions, but their lives, would be in imminent danger as soon as the Khalsa Army should fully realise
March, 1846. that they had been betrayed by their leaders—and these leaders the very men now placed in power at the instigation of the British Government. Furthermore, notwithstanding that complete arrangements had been made for the governing power of the Seik Durbar, as well as for the political management and Military occupation of our newly-acquired provinces in the Punjaub, the Rani and the members of the Lahore Durbar felt that their own personal safety and that of the young Maharaja could only be assured by the presence of a protecting force at the capital. It was therefore ordered that a British contingent should remain at Lahore until the end of the

1846. year 1846, but no longer. The guns of the Fort of Lahore were, at the request of the Durbar, handed over to the charge of our Artillery; and, some of our troops having been located in the city, the Rani and her son returned to the Palace, which they had hitherto considered was not a place of safety.

March 23rd—26th, 1846. On the 23rd of March the 1st European Light Infantry commenced its return to India; on the 26th recrossed the Sutlej, and on the following day the Regiment was inspected by the Commander-in-Chief, who was overcome with genuine emotion as he realised the reduced condition of the Regiment—truly but a skeleton of its former self. He spoke to the men feelingly and impressively of their gallant conduct during the campaign, and remarked that the number of wounded in the ranks proved how eager they had been to take their share of duty with their more fortunate comrades. To the Officers he said that, should Her Majesty be pleased to confer on him her gracious approval for the part he had taken in the late campaign, he should always feel that such approval was due to the Officers and men who had gained for him this great success. In conclusion, His Excellency announced to the Regiment that, in reward for its distinguished services, he had obtained the permission of the Government of India to create the Bengal European Light Infantry a Fusilier Regiment, and thenceforward it was to be designated "The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers."

April, 1846. The next day the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers continued its return march to Subathoo, which station it reached early in April.

Orders had previously been issued directing the 2nd Bengal European Regiment* to proceed to Subathoo; and, as there was only permanent accommodation for one Regiment, the 2nd Europeans were housed in temporary buildings. They reached the station on the 20th of April, when they received a

* Now the 2nd Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers.

hearty welcome from their sister Regiment; and during the time 1846.
that the 1st and 2nd were quartered together, nothing could have exceeded the good-fellowship which existed between the Regiments.

During the autumn of this year Colonel Joseph Orchard, C.B., again commanding the Regiment, met with an accident on parade which unhappily terminated fatally; his horse swerving and throwing his rider violently to the ground. One of the Officers ran to his assistance, but, quickly recovering himself, Orchard sprung to his feet, reprimanded the Officer for having left the ranks, and ordered the Regiment to "retire by double column of subdivisions from both flanks in rear of the centre." This was the last word of command he ever gave—it was in vain he attempted to remount his horse; the parade was dismissed, and the Colonel was assisted to his house near at hand, where he lingered for a few months, when he died—February 19th, 1847—and was buried with all Military honours in the cemetery at Subathoo.

Nothing could surpass the genuine grief of the Fusiliers; for Colonel Orchard was, in every sense, the father of the Regiment, with which he had served over forty years. He was not only respected, he was beloved by all under his command; and his memory has always been held in affectionate veneration by all those who had the privilege of serving under him.

The gloom cast over the Regiment was at this time enhanced by the terrible visitation of a very virulent form of Cholera, which created terrible havoc, especially amongst the young soldiers lately joined to fill the many vacancies created during the Sutlej War.

Towards the close of 1847 the 1st Bengal Fusiliers was ordered to Cawnpore, and on arrival the Regiment was placed under the command of Colonel George Huyshe, C.B. In the following autumn the left Wing, under command of Major H. T. Combe, was detached to Agra, where it remained until the close of 1849. In the meantime events of importance had oc-

1846. curred in the Punjab, calling for the interference of the British Government.

As the time approached for the withdrawal of the British troops from Lahore, notwithstanding that the Governor-General had said, "in no case can I consent that the British shall remain in" "garrison" at Lahore, "for a longer period than the end of this" "year,"* complications had arisen which rendered the revision of this edict necessary. A treaty was consequently entered into on the 16th December, 1846, between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, under the provisions of which it was agreed that "a British Officer with an efficient establishment shall be" "appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore," "which Officer shall have full authority to direct and control all" "matters in every department of the state."

Colonel Henry Lawrence† was the Officer appointed by the Governor-General to this responsible position, and he applied for and obtained the services of some of the ablest Officers in the Army; amongst those so appointed being Lieutenant Herbert B. Edwardes, of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, who was dispatched to the far-distant station of Bunnu, situated in a portion of the Seik territories ceded to the Lahore Durbar by the Afghans. This district had never been conquered, nor had it been, strictly speaking, even occupied by the Punjab troops; it was about thirty marches to the north-west of Lahore, its inhabitants being warlike and independent; so that although the task which Colonel Lawrence imposed upon young Edwardes required sound judgment, courage, and skill, he proved himself fully equal to the responsibility.

Colonel Lawrence's administration of the affairs of the Punjab lasted until the commencement of the year 1848. He inaugurated the principles of Government which he deemed suitable to the circumstances; but he altogether lost sight of the fact that the

* Proceedings in Durbar held at Lahore, 9th March, 1846.

† Afterwards Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.

effect of the treachery of the Seik Chiefs on the Khalsa was 1846.
bearing fruit, which threatened to terminate in mutiny and serious disorder. He believed that the people of the Punjab were in every way satisfied with the Regency of the British; and, having received assuring reports from Edwardes, Nicholson, Bowie and others, he anticipated no outbreak or difficulty; so he resigned his charge and accompanied the Governor-General—Lord Hardinge—to England.

Colonel Lawrence was succeeded by Sir F. Currie, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India; who, following his predecessor's policy, elaborated his plans, and trusting to the assurances of the Seik Chiefs by whom he was surrounded that the whole country was in a state of contentment and peace, looked forward to a future rule of tranquillity.

The Khalsa Army was now fully convinced that it had been betrayed by its Commanders in the last campaign, and it believed that it was in reward for such betrayal that the British had appointed Lal Sing and Tej Sing to responsible posts in the Seik Government. The Khalsa Sirdars believed that the victories gained by the British were the result of treachery; and they concluded that their defeats were due either to gross mismanagement or utter faithlessness; they therefore determined to have another struggle for the mastery.

Dissatisfaction first showed itself at Multan; Mulraj, the Governor of that province, having, since the close of the Sutlej Campaign, tried his strength against the Lahore troops and defeated them.

The British were bound to maintain the authority of the Lahore Durbar; but before the day of retribution Mulraj had been brought to reason, terms arranged, and further hostilities avoided; Mulraj agreeing to cede about one-third of his province to the Durbar, and to pay a sum of £20,000 as succession duty. Thus the quarrel was supposed to have been satisfactorily arranged; but Mulraj thought, or pretended to think, that he had been

1848. over-reached, and in consequence resigned his governorship; but to his resignation was affixed a condition, viz., that it should be kept a profound secret. Sir Frederick Currie either found this condition irksome or perhaps impossible to maintain; any way it leaked out, and much ill-feeling, in consequence, was engendered. Mulraj, being asked to cancel his resignation, refused; but it was not suspected at Lahore that he was one of the prime movers of an organized revolution in which the remnant of the Khalsa Army was deeply implicated.

Two Officers, Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant W. A. Anderson, were appointed by Sir Frederick Currie to proceed to Multan, and make themselves acquainted with the State of affairs in the province, preparatory to its being handed over by Mulraj to the Lahore Durbar.

These Officers were accompanied by a body of the Lahore troops, who, on arrival at Multan, mutinied, and throwing off all disguise joined Mulraj's Army, which now declared its intention not to surrender the Multan district. Vans Agnew and Anderson were attacked; the former being struck from his horse by one of Mulraj's soldiers and sabred before he could regain his feet, and the latter maltreated by the crowd, and so wounded that he was left for dead; they were, however, extricated by Sirdar Khan Sing, who had accompanied the British Officers from Lahore, and who had been appointed by the Lahore Durbar to succeed to the Governorship of the Province. The wounded Officers, with their escort and six guns, attempted a defence, but were overpowered; Agnew's head being severed from his body, and Anderson, who lay helpless on his bed, being hacked to pieces.

This state of affairs at Multan was quickly reported to Edwardes. To have awaited orders from Lahore would have imperilled the status of the British at the Seik capital. Edwardes, therefore, in the absence of Regular troops, organized an Army from the raw levies at his disposal; and, having made a report of his proceedings to his Chief, marched to attack Mulraj.

Edwardes' whole force numbered only 1600 men; and was composed 1848.
for the most part of soldiers of conflicting interests and doubtful allegiance.

The news of the murder of the two Officers reached Edwardes whilst he was at Dera Fath Khan, about 90 miles from Multan. He hastily communicated with the British Officers at the nearest stations, asking assistance; and one of the murdered Officers had, just before his death, sent a message to General Van Courtland, begging that he would come to his assistance with his Patan soldiers. Edwardes, having been reinforced by some of General Van Courtland's troops, attacked and defeated a large body of Mulraj's Army; and again, on May 20th, he met and defeated another Division of Mulraj's troops at Kineri; and, after nine hours' severe fighting, drove his enemy across the river Chenab, and thus deprived him of a large portion of his territories. Finally, having received some further reinforcements, and secured the co-operation of some friendly Seik Chiefs, Edwardes advanced on Multan itself. Here he was confronted by Mulraj's main Army, under the personal command of that Chief. Nothing daunted, Edwardes gave Mulraj battle; and, after a desperate encounter, forced his antagonist to seek refuge behind his defences.

July 1st, 1848.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers were justly proud of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes.* His courage and forethought, his decision of

* The following paragraphs of a Military letter, No. 15, to Governor-General of India in Council, dated the 1st November, 1848, was published for general information. "We have the gratification of apprizing you that "the Queen has been graciously pleased to confer upon Lieutenant Herbert " "Benjamin Edwardes, of the 1st Bengal European Regiment Fusiliers, the " "local rank of Major in the Lahore territories. We have further the " "satisfaction to state that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased, by a " "Special Statute of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, to appoint " "Major Edwardes an extra Member of the Military Division of the Third " "Class or Companion of that Order. With reference to your dispatches " "and to those from the Government of Bombay announcing the Military " "operations carried on against the rebel forces of the Dewan of Mooltan "

1848. character and noble bearing exercised a spell on all who were brought within his influence; and it was this power and strength of will which mainly contributed to a success almost unparalleled in Indian history. Had Edwardes been supported by a small British force with a few guns, it is quite possible that he might have averted the impending war—the second chapter in the history of the conquest of the Punjab.

But intrigue in the meantime was rife at Lahore; for in July it was discovered that the Rani—the Queen Regent—was implicated in a plot which threatened to develop into open war. The Rani was sent a state-prisoner to the Fortress of Chunar, whilst some other leaders of the rebellion were tried and hanged. But, notwithstanding the sharp measures which had been adopted, the horizon was clouded; and it soon became evident that a second Seik War was imminent.

The Lahore Brigade, under General Whish, was ordered to Multan to support Edwardes; and the Ferozpore Brigade was moved to Lahore, both these Brigades being at once pushed on to Multan. On arrival, September 5th, Whish found Edwardes' force, now numbering some 20,000 men, encamped at Suraj Khund, about six miles from Multan.

Whish, with his Engineer Officer, Napier,† found that the Fortress could not judiciously be assaulted without the heavy siege-guns, which had not yet arrived; and it was not until the

" by this Officer, we passed on the 13th of September last a resolution, of "
" which the following is a copy:— "
" ' Resolved unanimously that this Court do present to Major Edwardes ' "
" ' a Gold Medal, in testimony of their high approbation of the important ' "
" ' services rendered by him in raising and organizing a large force in a ' "
" ' foreign territory under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, in ' "
" ' wresting within a very brief period an extensive tract of country from ' "
" ' the power of the rebels, in skilfully combining his forces with those ' "
" ' of an ally and in signally defeating the troops of the enemy in two ' "
" ' pitched battles, thus evincing the possession, in the flower of his youth, ' "
" ' of all those qualities which form and ennoble the character of the ' "
" ' British Officer.' "

† Afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala.

7th of September that the Siege of Multan commenced. But now 1848.
an unforeseen difficulty presented itself. The Lahore troops, under Sirdar Sher Sing, deserted from the British force; and, declaring their sympathy with the national movement, entered the Fortress of Multan, and proclaimed their allegiance to Mulraj. The siege was raised; Whish blockading the roads leading into the town, but otherwise remaining inactive. On the 27th of December, reinforcements having joined the British Army, the siege operations were resumed; and during the following month * Multan was captured by assault, and the Fortress occupied by our troops.

In the meantime events had occurred which left no doubt as to the intentions of the Khalsa Army, and that they had resolved to measure their strength a second time with the British. A General Order was now issued, directing the assembly of an Army at Ferozpore, which was called "The Army of the Punjab;" Lord Gough assuming the command in person.

The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers at this time was quartered, the Right Wing at Cawnpore and the Left Wing at Agra. The Regiment had been so terribly reduced during the Sutlej War, that its ranks were even now filled by young soldiers and recruits. Under these circumstances the Regiment was left to guard the lower Provinces; whilst the 2nd Bengal European Regiment was ordered to take part in the coming campaign.

The 2nd European Regiment marched from Subathoo on the 24th September, 1848, arriving at Ferozpore on the 14th of October, when it was appointed to the 4th Brigade of "The Army of the Punjab." This Brigade was under Brigadier Godby, C.B., the Colonel of the 2nd Bengal Europeans; which Regiment was now commanded by Major Steel.

On the 22nd of November, 1848, Godby's Brigade joined the Army, at this time under the personal command of Lord Gough, at Rámnagar.

* January 21st, 1849.

1848. The Battle of Rámnagar was fought on the day that the 4th Brigade joined the Army; the 2nd European Regiment not being actively engaged, although they had a few men wounded by stray shots. The battle was precipitated by the impetuosity of our Commander-in-Chief, who suffered severely for his temerity; the British leaving one gun, which had become imbedded in the mud, in the enemy's hands, and some of our best Officers were killed and wounded.*

After the Battle of Rámnagar, the Khalsa Army, content with the advantage it had gained, crossed the Chenab and took up its position on the right bank of that river.

Military critics all agree that Lord Gough's policy should now have been to have watched his enemy and quietly awaited the fall of Multan, when he would be reinforced by the troops under Whish. But the Commander-in-Chief was smarting under his defeat at Rámnagar, and his hot blood induced him to discard this prudent course. He determined to engage his enemy without loss of time; and, on the 1st of December, a Division of the British Army, consisting of about 8000 men under Sir Joseph Thackwell, taking advantage of the apathy and want of caution of the Seiks, who had neglected to watch the fords, crossed the Chenab; and next day Thackwell marched twelve miles to the village of Durnwal without meeting any opposition. The day after, Thackwell received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to attack the Seiks as soon as practicable; and, in obedience to this order, marched the following morning; but, after he had proceeded about six miles, he received instructions to await the arrival of Brigadier Godby's Brigade before striking. Godby's Brigade, with the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, was at this time crossing the river Chenab at the ford of Ghari. A strange complication followed these contradictory orders. Gough had intended to have made a feint on the

December 1st —3rd, 1848.

* Colonels Havelock and Cureton were slain, and upwards of 80 men killed and wounded in this action.

enemy's position, and thus attract his attention, whilst Thackwell 1848.
was making his real attack; but Sher Sing, having heard that Thackwell had crossed the Chenab, formed the idea of catching Gough in his own trap; therefore he left a small portion of his troops to watch Gough whilst he himself marched to give battle to Thackwell. No sooner, however, had Sher Sing started on his march than it appears to have struck him that he was probably placing himself between two fires; for, should Gough convert his feint into a real attack, he might cross the river and assault him in his rear. Nevertheless, Sher Sing continued his advance on Thackwell, who being in ignorance of Sher Sing's intended attack, had, on the morning of the 3rd of December, halted near the village of Sudulapur. The British troops, tired after their march, had piled their arms and were snatching a little rest, when they were unexpectedly alarmed by the roar of Artillery. The men rushed to their arms and prepared for action; but Sher Sing contented himself with occupying three villages in Thackwall's front, from which a continuous fire was poured on the British with little result.

It was not till 4 p.m. that Thackwell consented to return the
December 3rd, 1848. enemy's fire, and at sunset it was discontinued on both sides; Shere Sing returning hastily to his camp on the right bank of the river Chenab.

On the morning of the 4th Godby's Brigade, with the 2nd
December 4th, 1848. Europeans and two Regiments of British Cavalry, joined Thackwell's Division; and next day Thackwell moved his camp to the village of Helah.

Gough had not left his position at Rámnagar, but was there
December 18th, 1848. employed in constructing a pontoon-bridge across the Chenab, which was not completed until the 18th December, when he crossed the river and joined Thackwell's Division at Helah.

Soon after this junction, the Commander-in-Chief received the unwelcome intelligence that our Fortress of Atak, on the river

1849. Indus, had capitulated, having been beleaguered by Chattar Sing with a strong Seik force; and it was reasonable to suppose that Chattar Sing would now join Sher Sing.

This was the view taken by Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, who sent immediate instructions to Lord Gough—"under the altered circumstances"—not to await the fall of Multan, but to strike at his enemy as soon as practicable; and Gough, delighted to have gained the consent of Government, determined to precipitate an action at all risks.

Sher Sing occupied a position of considerable strength at Chillianwalla, with thick jungle in his front and rear, which afforded admirable cover, and on his left the village of Rasul.

Gough's plan of action was to take his enemy in flank and force him back between unfordable rivers, deficient of supplies, and thus prevent the junction of his Army with that of Chattar Sing.

Gough neared his enemy on the afternoon of the 13th of January, fully intending to bivouac on the field and force Sher Sing to a battle on the following morning; but as soon as he sighted his enemy he could not resist the temptation of engaging him.

Shere Sing opened fire first, and Gough could not brook the insult. He at once hurled his Infantry at his enemy, with the simple instructions to his Generals that they had to capture the enemy's guns at the point of the bayonet. Gough seems to have forgotten utterly all his carefully-digested plans; angry at the temerity of the enemy, he sent his Infantry to punish them.

General Gilbert's Division—in which was the 2nd Bengal Regiment,—occupied the right of our attacking-line; the left was under Colonel Campbell, and in the centre our heavy guns.

The British line advanced most cheerily; but it had to push its way through dense jungle for a distance of nearly a mile before sighting the enemy; moreover, amongst this jungle were large pools and swamps, necessitating frequent *détours* and causing some confusion, notwithstanding which the British

January 13th, 1849.

Regiments soon formed up—under a heavy fire—and assumed 1849.
some kind of order. The command was now given to rapidly advance, and our troops made a decided rush on the enemy with their bayonets, causing him to recoil; but the Seiks, soon recovering themselves, charged down on the left of our line, recapturing some of their own guns which we had previously seised from them. The enemy then made a determined onslaught, surrounding Colonel Campbell's Division on three sides.

The Seiks, seeing the right of our line exposed, brought round some guns and Infantry, intending to take us in flank; but Brigadier Godby, discerning their object, wheeled back the two
January 13th, 1849. Companies on the right of the 2nd European Regiment, and fired some volleys on the advancing foe, which caused him to make a *détour*. The Seiks, however, had completely outflanked our line; and it soon became apparent that they had circled round under cover of the jungle, and were charging down on the rear of the Regiment. There was no time to be lost; Godby could not change his front on account of the dense jungle, so he faced his Regiment to the rear, and with his rear rank in front dashed at the Khalsa Infantry.

Major Dawes, with his two troops of Bengal Horse Artillery, did splendid service on this occasion, by coming to the relief and covering the 2nd Bengal European Regiment, just as it was very hard pressed by the Seik Infantry and Artillery, fighting the Regiment both in front and rear.

As the enemy approached from the rear they emerged from the jungle, and it was now seen that they were advancing very steadily with drums beating and colours flying; when the Bengal Europeans, still rear rank in front, gave a hearty cheer as they
January 13th, 1849. rushed on the Khalsa line. The enemy hesitated as the Europeans approached, some of them retiring, but most held their ground, and, receiving our charge, made a desperate resistance, using their tulwars and knives with terrible effect. After some severe fighting the Seik line fairly gave way; the Europeans, now

1849. making a rush at the Seik guns which had been galling them so severely, and capturing two at the point of the bayonet, and Godby, facing to his front, readvanced to his former position. This exploit of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment proved that in point of steadiness, discipline, and courage, even under the most trying circumstances, it was second to none in our Armies.

The tide of battle was now turning in favour of the British. The left of our Army had re-formed, and was driving the Seiks back at the point of the bayonet; whilst the right, having cleared the enemy from its rear, had regained the ground which it had lost. Our Cavalry—led by General Thackwell—and the Bengal Horse Artillery, were doing splendid service on both flanks.

As if it had been preconcerted, the British Army now broke into a hearty English cheer; and with a simultaneous rush forward, the enemy were repulsed along the whole line; and Gough, however justly he may be censured for his rash attack, had the satisfaction of seeing that he had driven the Khalsa from the field, thus winning the Battle of Chillianwalla.

Darkness was now setting in. There were two courses open to the Commander-in-Chief—he might hold the field, which he had just won at so great a cost of life, or he might retire on Chillianwalla where was his depôt of provisions and ammunition. He decided on adopting the latter course, and retired to his former position.

January 13th, 1849.

The following is the *résumé* of this battle by that fearless and just critic, Colonel Malleson, who says, "The British Army then returned from the well-fought field, to win which had cost them, in killed and wounded, 89 Officers and 2357 fighting-men, leaving on the field many standards—lost, not captured—six guns, and all their dead. It cannot be said of this battle that 'it was a famous victory.' Indeed, it can only be technically called a victory, and most certainly it was of a Pyrrhœan character."

The following is the casualty list of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment at the Battle of Chillianwalla:— 1849.

Lieutenant Nightingale, very severely wounded.

Lieutenant Bleamire, slightly wounded.

Rank-and-file, killed 6, wounded 54.

Eight days after the Battle of Chillianwalla* Multan fell—January 21st, 1849—and General Whish, with about 9,000 men, hastened to join our Headquarters Camp; but this increase would be fully counterbalanced by the Army of Chattar Sing joining the Khalsa force. Chattar Sing, who was Sher Sing's father, now assumed the chief command of the Seik Army.

Lord Gough, for various strategic reasons, changed his ground several times, and finally, on the 20th of February, having been joined by the Multan force and a Bombay Brigade, pitched his camp at Shadiwalla. In the meantime Chattar Sing also had several times changed his ground with the object of again inducing Gough to attack; but this time he was not to be tempted. The Seik Army finally took up its position in front of the village of Goozerat, with its right and left resting on two streams, both of which were easily fordable; indeed the stream on the enemy's right was nearly dry, and that on the left formed no serious obstacle. Across and beyond these streams were bodies of the enemy's Cavalry.

February 20th, 1849.

The two Armies, on the morning of the 21st February, faced each other; Gough's plan of action being to attack his enemy on his left and centre simultaneously, and drive him back on his Right Wing which he hoped to double up; and, during the confusion, to hurl at him our Left Wing, with which he intended to scatter the Seiks past rallying.

Generals Gilbert's and Whish's Divisions, supported by the greater part of the Field Artillery, were told off to attack the enemy's centre; the 2nd European Regiment being one of those

* The decoration, "Chillianwalla," inherited from the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, is borne on the Colours of The Royal Munster Fusiliers.

1849. appointed to capture the fortified village of Barrakalra, situated in the enemy's immediate front, and considered to be the key to his position.

The 2nd Europeans advanced in line to the attack; but Barrakalra was defended by some of the best Regiments in the Khalsa Army, selected by Chattar Sing for the post of honour, as they had displayed signal bravery at the Battle of Chillianwalla. The 2nd European Regiment advanced to within a short distance of the village; when they fired a volley, and the Left Wing, climbing

February 21st, 1849. up the mud walls, sprang on to the roofs of the houses, many of them letting themselves down into the narrow and tortuous streets, and driving the enemy out at the further side. The Right Wing in the meantime had passed round the village and engaged the enemy's supports; but as soon as the Seik Artillery outside the village saw their comrades being overpowered, they elevated their guns so as to clear the tops of the houses, notwithstanding that the British and Seik soldiers were intermixed whilst they struggled for the mastery.

Two Seik Colours were here captured by the 2nd Europeans; the enemy bravely defended these standards, and every Khalsa falling before they were relinquished.

But the battle was not yet over. The Seik Infantry, when they became aware how small was the force which had driven them from the village, returning in masses; so that at this juncture it appeared as if the Regiment must inevitably be doubled up and

February 21st, 1849. crushed. Fordyce's Horse Artillery, which had covered the attacking-party, having retired to obtain a further supply of ammunition, the enemy's Artillery, now unopposed, poured showers of grape amongst the Regiment, which was at the same time threatened by the large masses in its front. The 2nd Bengal Europeans were now drawn up in line under a withering fire, but such was their ardour that it was with difficulty Colonel Steele could restrain them from rushing forward at the enemy's guns. Just as the Khalsa troops were approaching the

British line, a portion of Fordyce's Horse Artillery came galloping 1849.
up, and in a few seconds unlimbered their guns, and round after round of grape and volleys of musketry tore through the close ranks of the masses of the enemy in front. Under our well-directed fire the Khalsa soldiers faltered, and then slowly and sullenly retired.

From this moment the victory of Goozerat became a certainty. Malleson, in his "Decisive Battles in India," p. 391, says of the capture of the position of Barra Kalrá, "The resistance was" "determined, the bearing of the Seiks heroic. They met the" "advancing foe face to face, and strove with undaunted courage" "to drive him back. Vain, however, were their efforts. Step" "by step did the British troops make good their footing, until" "at last they forced the enemy, still fronting them, to fall back" "on his second line. The gallant nature of the defence may" "be gathered from the loss inflicted by the Seiks on their" "assailants. In carrying the village of Barra Kalrá, the 3rd" "Brigade (2nd Europeans, 31st and 70th Native Infantry) lost" "upwards of 300 killed and wounded." The 2nd European Regiment lost in killed and wounded and missing 143—including 1 Officer, Lieutenant Sprot, killed; and 5—Captain Boyd, Lieutenant Elderton, and Ensigns Toogood, Sandford, and Matheson, wounded.

The British Cavalry and Bengal Horse Artillery followed up the victory of Goozerat,* and during the rest of the day the Khalsa
February 21st, 1849. Army, now thoroughly disorganized, fled in dismay, throwing away its arms, clothing, and accoutrements; so that the whole line of retreat was thickly strewn with guns, tents, exhausted cattle, standards, and all the *débris* of war.

Next day two British Divisions marched in pursuit; that
February 22nd, 1849. under General Gilbert—with whom was the 2nd Bengal European Regiment—proceeding towards the river

* The decoration, "Goozerat," inherited from the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, is borne on the Colours of "The Royal Munster Fusiliers."

1849. Jhelum, which it crossed, still pressing on the track of the disorganized Khalsa Army.

Gilbert followed his enemy with vigour, the British Column making one uninterrupted march of forty-seven miles, on which occasion the General expressed his admiration of the spirit and endurance of the 2nd European Regiment.*

On the 14th of March the Khalsa Army, overtaken prostrate and helpless, surrendered unconditionally; Chattar Sing, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sher Sing, his Lieutenant, together with the
March 14th, 1849. principal Seik Sirdars, delivering up their swords to General Gilbert. Forty-one pieces of Artillery were surrendered, and the shattered remnant of the conquered Army laid down its arms in presence of its conquerors. The Khalsa may have been betrayed at Ferozshah, but he had again challenged his foe. The battle had been fought to the bitter end. He had been, this time, worsted in fair fight. Defeated and exhausted, he submitted to his foe.

Thus ended the second chapter of the subjugation of the Punjab, which was now annexed, March 29th, 1849, to the territories of the East India Company, under whose Government that vast Province has prospered and improved; and under whose laws all property has been secured from unfair exactions or Military plunder. The Khalsa, admitting the inevitable, transferred his allegiance and services to his new rulers, under whom he soon proved himself on an equality with the best troops in the British Service.

It was the Seiks who first shook the Indian Empire to its very foundation; and we shall see that, in 1857, it was the Seiks who afterwards saved it.

* For their distinguished services during the Punjab War, the 2nd European Regiment was—18th January, 1850—designated the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, "to mark the high sense entertained by the Government" "of the gallant, exemplary, and praiseworthy conduct of the Regiment" "during the late operations in the Punjab."—*Government Gazette.*

CHAPTER XVII.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers at Lahore—The Regiment ordered into camp on account of malarious fever—Rumours of war with Burmah—Previous treaties with Burmah—The Burmese authorities insult the British flag—Explanations demanded are met with repeated insults—The Burmese troops fire on the British ships—War declared with Burmah—Rangoon occupied by British troops—Capture of the Town and Fort of Pegu—Relief of the Pegu garrison—The enemy pursued—Martaban and Moulmien—Attack on and capture of Gongoh—Arrival of the Column at Shoe Gyne—The Flying Column advances on Tonghoo—Surrender of Tonghoo—Return march towards Rangoon—Detachment of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers capture Beling—Thayetmyo and Meeaday garrisoned by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers—Relieved by the 29th Foot—The end of the 2nd Burmese War—Return of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers to India.

IMMEDIATELY after the Punjab War, the Right Wing of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers marched from Cawnpore, and, joining the Left Wing at Agra, the entire Regiment proceeded to Lahore, the capital of our newly-acquired territories in the Punjab; reaching its destination early in 1850.

March, 1850.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Birrell, lately returned from furlough, now resumed command of the Regiment.

As there were not sufficient barracks in the newly-built cantonment of Anarkulli for the accommodation of all the European force at Lahore, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were quartered in the Huzari Bagh, or Royal Garden, a fortified portion of the city in which were the palaces of the Maharajas. Many of the Officers' quarters were constructed of costly materials, the walls being ornamented inside with beautifully-carved marbles; whilst some of the others, above the old gateways, were built of massive masonry.

1850. The Regiment was quartered in the midst of a restless population, not yet habituated to our rule, and consisting of fanatics and discharged Khalsa soldiers, who had so lately been our enemies in the field; yet such was the discipline maintained, that, although our soldiers were frequently insulted and molested in the streets, instances of retaliation on their part were very rare.

In the month of June, 1850, the Officer on guard was informed that six Seik fanatics had broken into the square adjoining one of our barracks, which was used as "married men's quarters." Proceeding to the place indicated, he found the dead bodies of the six Seiks lying in the square. They had stealthily entered the enclosure a few minutes before the dinner-hour, and having bound the mystic thread around their wrists and drawn their tulwars, they had attempted to sell their lives as dearly as they could, and to inflict death on all the Europeans who might come across their path. Eleven of the married men of the Regiment had been wounded before the fanatics were killed, but fortunately none of our soldiers were fatally injured, they having defended themselves as best they could with legs of tables, chairs, and footstools, or anything else that came to hand; their wives helping the men by clinging to the Seiks, who, however maddened with *bhang*, or thirsting for blood, never injure either women or children. It was afterwards reported that these Khalsas had said on the previous night that as, owing to the cessation of hostilities, they could no longer live by the sword, they elected to die by the hands of their late enemies, rather than exist in idleness and humiliation.

In the autumn of this year, 1850, the river Ravee so over-
September, 1850. flowed its banks during the periodical rains, that the esplanade and surrounding country were placed many feet under water, which also surrounded the Fort where our Regiment was quartered, producing malaria, so affecting both Officers and men that upwards of eighty per cent. were either on the sick-

list or in hospital with fever. The Regiment was now ordered 1850.
into camp on some rising ground a few miles distant from the City of Lahore; but the sickness was so general and the mortality so great that Sepahis were employed on our Regimental guards.

Dr. H. A. Bruce was at this trying time the Surgeon of our Regiment, and nothing could exceed his kindness and attention. Dr. Bruce had at all times been an universal favourite in the Regiment, both with the Officers and men, not only professionally, but as the life of the mess-table; and whenever or wherever an act of kindness was needed, his aid was unostentatiously ready. The scenes in camp during this severe epidemic were very distressing, the sick in their damp tents suffering much discomfort, and the constantly-occurring deaths throwing a gloom over the camp, which was not relieved until it became known that orders had been received at headquarters for the Regiment to march, as soon as practicable, to Meerut. The conveyance of the sick was a matter of considerable difficulty, no less than three thousand bearers being required to carry the dhoolies containing the
October, 1850. invalids. These bearers, who were playfully termed "Bruce's Brigade," were paraded during our march morning and evening. After a week's continual change of air the numbers of the bearers were materially reduced as our soldiers were restored to health. The disease, however, had told disastrously on the constitutions of the men; and on arrival at Meerut a medical board was assembled,
February, 1851. under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, to report on the health of the Regiment; when it was found that three-fourths of the men were still weakly, and suffering from the effects of the malaria to which they had been exposed at Lahore.

Early in 1852 rumours were rife of a coming war with Burmah; and an intimation was received that in all probability the services of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers would be called into requisition.

Burmah adjoins the British territories; its northern frontier

1850. abutting on Assam; its western coast facing the east of India; the Bay of Bengal intervening.

In 1784 Arracan, on the Burmese coast, which had been exhausted by a succession of internal wars, fell an easy prey to the conqueror Bhodan Phaya, and was permanently annexed to the Avan dominion; and it was this conquest which first brought the Burmese into actual contact with our Bengal frontier, followed by repeated acts of aggression on the part of the Burmese, leading to the war between the East India Company and Burmah in 1824. This war terminated in 1826; and an agreement was entered into between the belligerents, called "the Treaty of Yandabu," under the clauses of which the large provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim were ceded to the Company, and thenceforward became a part of our Indian Empire.

Twenty-six years after the signing of the Treaty of Yandabu, our representatives in Burmah were subjected to constant indignities and repeated insults; the conditions of the above Treaty were ruthlessly violated, and oppressive exactions levied on our traders. Finally, the Commander of a British vessel was wrongfully imprisoned by the Governor of Rangoon, heavily ironed, and placed in the public stocks; by which insults discredit and disgrace were brought on the English flag.

The Indian Government at once demanded satisfaction, and the admission of a British Resident either at Rangoon or Ava; and it was to enforce these demands that a British Squadron was dispatched to Rangoon. Consequent on this prompt action of the Indian Government, the Burmese King ordered the removal of the offending Governor, appointing a successor who it was stated had been instructed to satisfy the British demands. It soon, however, became apparent that the change of Governors was a *ruse* to tide over the difficulty, for not only was no satisfaction afforded, but the offending Governor was allowed to leave Rangoon with the plunder unjustly extorted from the British traders by his cruel exactions.

The English Commodore (Captain Lambert, R.N.) now sent a representative to the Governor of Rangoon, soliciting an interview; but the request was rejected, and the Commodore's messenger grossly insulted. Still anxious, if possible, to arrive at an amicable settlement, Captains Fishburn, of H.M.S. "Hermes," and Tatler, the Chief Interpreter, together with other Officers, waited on the Governor; but the emissaries returned to the Squadron without having succeeded in gaining admission to the inner rooms of the Palace; it having been urged in excuse that the Governor was asleep and was not to be disturbed. 1852.

It now became necessary to convince the Burmese that reparation would be compelled, as no reply was received to the Commodore's communications demanding satisfaction; and, as this was not otherwise to be obtained, he, on the 7th January, 1852, seized one of the Burmese ships of war, blockaded the town of Rangoon, calling on all British subjects as well as Portuguese, Armenians, and Mussulmans to leave the town and seek protection on board H.M. ships of war.

The property of the refugees who had claimed British protection under the Commodore's orders was immediately confiscated by the Burmese authorities.

During the course of these events the aged Burmese Governor of the town of Dalla, near Rangoon, alone behaved with courtesy; and he, having communicated with the British Commodore, obtained yet another day's grace to enable the Rangoon Governor to come to amicable terms; but, instead of endeavouring to avoid the threatened war, the latter forwarded a notice to the British Commodore, informing him that if he should attempt to pass the stockade which had been erected at the mouth of the river, he would be fired upon by the Burmese guns.

On the 9th of January the Burmese ship which had been captured in the Rangoon harbour was towed down the river towards the sea, under escort of H.M. ships "Hermes," "Fox," and "Phlegethon." On arriving opposite the stockade the Burmese

1852. guns opened fire on the convoy, and an Artillery fight ensued which resulted in a loss to the enemy of about 300 men. Thus opened the second Burmese War; and on the 10th of February, 1852, the Indian Government decided to send a Military Expedition to Burmah, to insist upon an apology and compensation being offered.

Military operations were commenced in April, when Rangoon was occupied by our troops, Martaban captured on the 5th of April, Bassain on the 19th of May, and Pegu was temporarily occupied in the early part of June, 1852.

The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor, had received orders to join the Army on service in Burmah, proceeding to Allahabad by river boats, and thence to Chinsurah by steamers. Two months were expended in transporting the Regiment to Calcutta, when it embarked on board the Frigates "Sphynx," "Muzuffar," and "Feroze," which conveyed it to Rangoon, arriving in the following November.

November, 1852.

There was much that was interesting and picturesque to be seen from the decks of the steamers as they made their way up the Rangoon river; the beautiful verdure of the sloping river banks, backed by the adjacent hills and studded with handsome Pagodas—their rich gilding glittering in the sun—formed a series of pictures hardly to be surpassed in tropical brilliancy and beauty. The magnificent and costly Pagoda of Syriam only preluded the still grander Shoé Dagon at Rangoon, close to which our vessels cast anchor.

Rangoon was now garrisoned by H.M. 80th and 51st Regiments, the 1st European Bengal and the 1st European Madras Fusiliers, with a detachment of the 18th Royal Irish; and in addition to the above were some Batteries of Field-Artillery and a considerable force of Bengal and Madras Infantry.

On the 19th of November an expedition was organized to capture the town and fort of Pegu, which fell into the hands of

the British during the previous June, but had been evacuated 1852.
as we had not at that time sufficient troops at our disposal to garrison it, and had been re-occupied by the Burmese, who had strengthened its defences. It now became necessary for us to re-capture and permanently garrison this position, for which purpose the following troops—under Brigadier McNeill—left Rangoon in four river steamers: 300 of the 1st Bengal Europeans, under Colonel Tudor, 300 of the Madras Europeans, 400 5th Madras Native Infantry, with some detachments of Artillery and Sappers, and two field-guns. General Godwin accompanied the expedition and superintended its operations.

The river being shallow the steamers were not engaged, but the force landed on the 21st, a dense fog prevailing; and having taken up their respective positions, commenced the march through close and difficult jungle towards the town of Pegu. The Bengal and Madras Europeans threw forward their skirmishers, these Regiments pushing on steadily, although the thick undergrowth was breast-high, rendering regular movements impossible. Indeed, the soldiers were scattered in single and double files, whilst the enemy, concealed around, were sending amongst them a dropping fire. The heat was so oppressive, and the exertion of pushing through the jungle so great, that several of the Europeans fell from fatigue, and some from sunstroke. Having at last arrived near the gateway of the town, General Godwin formed up his troops for the attack; but the soldiers were so exhausted that it was found impossible to advance until time had been allowed to recruit their strength.

After an hour's rest nearly the whole of the Bengal Fusiliers
November 21st, 1852. were collected together, and the troops were formed up for action under a fire from the enemy, still concealed on all sides amongst the jungle.

General Godwin now addressed the troops, complimenting them on their almost superhuman exertions under such great difficulties, and explaining to them the work they still had before

1852. them. "Now," said he, addressing the Fusilier Regiments; "*you*" "are Bengalies, and *you* are Madrassies; let's see who are the" "best men." A hearty cheer was the response, when the Bengal and Madras Fusiliers led the assault towards the city gate, which was, after a short struggle, captured; the Burmese soldiers being forced back and seeking shelter under the walls of the Pagoda on the platform above. About noon the whole of the town and Fort of Pegu was in our possession; with a total loss in our Army of 3 Officers wounded, and from 30 to 40 rank and file killed, wounded, and missing.

Sergeant-Major Hopkins,* of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, was promoted to an unattached Ensigncy for his gallant conduct during the storm of Pegu.

On the 22nd November the British troops returned to Rangoon; with the exception of the following, left to garrison Pegu:

200 Madras Fusiliers.

200 5th Madras Native Infantry.

A detachment of European Artillery, with 2 guns.

This small garrison tempted the Burmese troops to try and re-capture the place, and they, having made a vigorous attack on our gun-boats, were easily repulsed; but on the evening of the 27th they made a daring attack on the position held by our soldiers, assaulting all sides of the Pagoda simultaneously. After some hours' smart fighting they were driven back into the jungle, leaving many dead around the Fort.

November 24th, 1852.

On the 3rd December the enemy renewed their attacks, continuing them with but little intermission until the 13th; during which time the little British garrison were closely invested by large numbers; but, animated by the hope of speedy relief, our soldiers succeeded in holding the position against the enemy, who, aided by their Artillery and Cavalry, kept up an incessant fire.

December 3rd—13th, 1852.

* This Officer, having attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, died at Meerut, in August, 1881.

The following description of the Pagoda which was held by the British troops will show how difficult was the task of maintaining their position against an enemy so numerically superior. 1852.

The Pegu Pagoda is raised upon three terraces, each side of the upper terrace measuring about 210 yards. Twelve feet below is a second terrace which measures 320 yards along each face, and extends 40 feet from the inner wall; the third terrace is 6 feet lower, the faces being increased to 450 yards, extending also 40 feet from the wall. Outside the stockades high grass impeded the view of the sentries, whilst numerous small Pagodas on the east and west sides also gave shelter to the enemy.

On the north and eastern sides the interior of our stockade was commanded by ground higher than the platforms; and to hold this position, as well as to protect the walls of the town, we had but 435 men.

A report of the trying and uncertain position of the Pegu Garrison having reached General Godwin, that Officer immediately organized a relief expedition, which he dispatched in the river steamers, "Nerbudda" and "Mahanuddy;" the latter vessel, however, with 250 of the Madras Fusiliers on board, becoming disabled, was obliged to return to Rangoon. The steamer "Nerbudda" proceeded up the river with the boats which conveyed our troops, believing that they were followed by the "Mahanuddy." As the "Nerbudda" approached the village of Lower Seedee, it was found to be occupied in strong force by the enemy, who had planted stakes across the river to impede the progress of our steamers.

Our troops were quickly landed; the enemy during this operation firing from the surrounding thick jungle, which afforded ample cover. The Bengal Fusiliers moved up to some houses skirting the village, which they occupied, the enemy retiring on the village Upper Seedee, about a mile distant. Our pickets were now advanced; the troops passing a restless night in the

1852. village, whilst volleys and constant dropping shots kept all on the alert, and sometimes inflicted injury on our soldiers.

On the morning of the 7th of December our troops advanced to the relief of the Pegu Garrison; the detachment of the Bengal Fusiliers being now under command of Major Gerrard. On nearing the south-west gate of the City, a party of the enemy supported by Cavalry, posted on the plain, prepared to dispute our advance, but were quickly dispersed; and our force continued its march, soon reaching the gateway, which was protected by a wet-ditch and earthworks. The Burmese advanced from the surrounding jungle, and threatened the flanks of our Column, but a few shots forced them to return to shelter, when our "advance-party" pushed quickly on to the eastern gateway of the City, which was entered without our progress having been further disputed; and thus the beleaguered Garrison was relieved.

During the afternoon the Bengal Fusiliers were sent to capture the stockades and defences to the south and west still occupied by the enemy, who, having been expelled, the works were at once demolished, our men returning at dusk to the Pagoda.

December 7th—15th, 1852. During the following days the Burmese were employed in throwing up three lines of entrenchments on the plain beyond the jungle to the north of Pegu, and on the 16th December General Godwin advanced his force—with which were 570 of the Bengal Fusiliers—to drive the enemy from their newly-formed position. On our Column reaching the plain the enemy seemed for the first time aware that we had taken the field, and a judicious and rapid movement might have ensured the capture of a large number of their elephants and cattle, which were feeding unprotected on the plain; but General Godwin, intent on the speedy capture of the position, took ground to the right, and turning the enemy's position, rapidly occupied their first line of entrenchments, when a halt was ordered; during which the enemy, collecting their cattle, moved

off in full retreat along the Shoé Gyne road. The whole of the entrenchments were at once occupied by our troops; who, after a few hours' rest, leisurely followed the enemy, reaching the village of Lephandoon before sunset. 1852.

It now became evident that General Godwin had been misled by the information received from the Burmese guides; and on the morning of the 18th December he beat across the jungle in the direction of the Shoé Gyne road, along which he proceeded as far as the village of Montsaganu, where the enemy had again entrenched themselves. After some skirmishing—during which the Burmese made merely a show of resistance—the entrenchments were occupied by our troops, and the defences levelled; and, the surrounding country having been completely cleared of the enemy, our troops returned to the Pegu Garrison.

General Godwin has been censured for not having followed up his enemy with greater rapidity and more decision, and perhaps from a Military point of view, justly; but may it not have been that the quality of mercy was too strong in him to permit the useless slaughter of these discouraged fugitives?

December 17th—20th, 1852.

The exposure to the dews at night, and the fatigue consequent on marching under a tropical sun by day during the 17th and 18th, produced much sickness amongst the Bengal Fusiliers, 20 of whom died of cholera alone a few days after their return to Pegu.

About 700 of our soldiers having now been left to garrison the Fort of Pegu, General Godwin with the remainder of his troops returned to Rangoon on the 22nd December.

To clear the country of all the Burmese troops, and to drive them from the numerous strong stockades which they had erected on the line of country extending from Martaban to Thonghoo, a Column was formed, consisting of 450 of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers under Major Gerrard, 150 of the Madras Fusiliers, together with a force of Artillery and Native Infantry, the whole under command of General Steele. The expedition embarked for

"East India Register," January, 1853.

1st EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS.

(Right Wing.)

'Plassey," "Buxar," "Guzerat," "Deig," "Bhurtpore," "Afghanistan," "Ghuznee," "Ferozshah," "Sobraon."

Station, Burmah. Arrived, 1852.

Season of Appointment.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
	COLONEL.			
1800	Sir W. R. Gilbert, Bart., G.C.B.	25 June, '32 ...	L.G. 11 Nov. '51	
—	G. Hunter	7 Jan., '41 ...	do.	On Furlough.
	LIEUT.-COLONELS.			
1818	G. Warren	6 Aug., '43 ...	C. 16 July, '49	*
1819	J. C. Tudor	8 Oct., '50.....	7 June, '49 ...	
	MAJOR.			
1825	John G. Gerrard ...	1 March, '50...	...	Hissar Stud.
	CAPTAINS.			
1828	Jno. W. Bennett ...	1 Nov., '44 ...	25 Dec., '43 ...	On Furlo'.
1829	H. T. Combe	1 Nov , '44 ...	M. 1 Dec., '48	
1837	R W. H. Fanshawe	21 Dec., '45 ...		
1837	Geo. O. Jacob	17 June, '48 ...	...	Comg. 4th Punjab Cavalry
1840	Geo G Denniss.....	29 June, '49 ...		
1839	Edm D. Byng	23 Jan., '50 ...		
1840	South. Greville	1 March, '50...		On Furlo'.
1840	H. B. Edwardes, C.B.	do.	M 2 Mch., '50	Civil Emp.
1840	Alex. Hume.....	16 July, '51 ...		
1842	James Williamson...	7 Aug., '52 ...		
	LIEUTENANTS.			
1842	E. Cunliffe	23 July, '44 ...		
1843	F. O. Salusbury	9 March, '45...		
1843	C. O. B. Palmer.....	29 Oct., '45 ...		
1843	P. R. Innes	6 Feb., '46 ...	...	On Furlo'.
1844	C. R. Wriford.....	10 Feb., '46 ...	...	On Furlo'.
1844	Edw. Brown	10 Feb., '46 ...		

* Commanding Barrackpore, and Hon. A.D.C. to the Governor-General.

1st EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS (*Continued*).

Season of Appointment.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
	LIEUTS. *(continued).*			
1845	G. C. Lambert	11 Feb., '46 ...		
1844	Trevor Wheler	4 March, '46...		
1845	W. R. H. I. Howell	31 March, '46		
1845	E. St. George	4 May, '46 ...		
1845	H. F. M. Boisragon	13 Oct., '46 ...	...	2nd in command, Kemvan Battn.
1845	R. J. F. Hickey	17 June, '48 ...		
1845	W. S. R. Hodson ...	1 April, '49 ...	...	Civil Emp.
1845	N. T. Parsons	29 June, '49 ...		
1845	G. M. Battye	23 Jan., '50 ...	...	Revenue Survey
1845	George Price	1 March, '50..	...	Dept Pub. Works
1846	R. C. Birch	do.	...	Gwalior cont. with Regiment
1846	W. Davison	16 July, '51 ...		
1848	Wm. A. Pope	19 July, '51 ...	...	On Furlo'.
1848	H. Maxwell	7 Aug., '52 ...		
	2ND LIEUTENANTS.			
1848	H. M. Wemyss	12 June, '49 ...	9 Dec., '48 ...	
1848	H. Caulfield	18 Aug., '49 ...	27 Dec., '48 ...	
1849	J. Morland	25 May, '50 ...	11 Dec., '49 ..	
1849	J. S. Ingram	do.	12 Dec., '49 ...	
1850	E. E. Ekins	5 March, '51...	10 Dec., '50 ...	
1851	C. MacFarlane	24 Sept., '51 ...	20 Jan , '51 ...	
1851	L. B. Magniac	do.	20 Feb., '51 ...	
1851	J. W. Dunnell.....	17 Feb., '52 ...	16 June, '51 ...	
1851	E. A. C. Lambert ...	13 Aug., '52 ...	12 Dec., '51 ...	

(Left Wing.)

	MAJOR.			
1818	John P. Ripley	1 March, '50...	23 Dec., '42 ...	
	CAPTAINS.			
1827	Jas. Ruth Pond.....	1 Nov., '44	M. 3 April, '46	Asst. Adjt.-Genl. Peshawur Divn.
1828	Douglas Seaton		M. 19 June, '46	

Adjt. to the Regt., F. O. SALUSBURY, 15 Aug., 1848.
Intr. and Qr.Mr. W. R. H. I. HOWELL, 24 Jan., 1849.
Surgeon do. H. A. BRUCE, M.D., 5 Oct., 1847.
Asst. to do. ,, ,, ,,

Uniform, Scarlet; Lace, Gold; Facings, Dark Blue.

1853. Martaban in the Honourable East India Company's Steam Frigates "Moozuffur," "Zenobia," and "Bernice," with three transports, whilst H.M. Steam Frigate "Sphynx" towed another transport carrying ordnance and stores. A brief voyage brought these vessels on the 5th January, 1853, to their destination opposite Martaban; Moulmien, standing on the opposite side of the river, the situation of which is beautiful, showing its numerous white pagodas studded amongst the bungalows forming the town. A vast difference there was between Martaban, still surrounded by its dense jungles, and Moulmien prosperous, after its 25 years of British rule.

A lovely view of country opened out on both sides of the grand Salween river; many smaller streams dividing the hills covered with beautiful forest trees. It was a busy, as well as a picturesque, scene.

The Commissariat Department was transporting stores from Moulmien, or landing them from the fleet. Here were illus-
January, 1853. trated the difficulties of moving and equipping a Column, which was to march for weeks through an almost unknown country; difficulties enhanced by the necessity for transporting across the river about a hundred elephants. These animals, however, swam or waded across the river according to the depth of water, and it was when they sank, leaving in sight only an upraised trunk, that the excitement was at its height. Every Mahout (driver), with earnest prayers to Allah for protection, perched on his animal's shoulders, had to stand up, or hold on as best he could; and with encouraging cries urged him on to reach the opposite shore. After a few mishaps the whole of the elephants reached their destination in safety; but it is a matter of regret that, a few months subsequently, hardly one of these sagacious animals had survived the hardships and dangers of the march through the dense, impenetrable jungles.

Martaban, signifying the "Nose of the Rock," was considered from its strength and position to be the Gibraltar of the Burmese.

It was from this place that their armies frequently issued to fight 1853.
their foes the Siamese; but now it had been formed into a British Fortress, containing 14 heavy pieces of ordnance, which were mounted on the North and South Batteries and on the Hill Stockade.

On the 12th of January the General and his Staff surveyed the surrounding country, and on the 14th the Column commenced its forward march, leaving Martaban by the Beling gate.

We had before us 240 miles of swamp and dense forest, never before traversed by a European force. The enemy held a strong position at Ky-onk-ye, about 4 miles from Martaban; to attack which the advanced portion of our Army, with 75 men of the 1st Bengal Europeans moved to the front. On our reaching Ky-onk-ye the Burmese opened fire from the thick jungle which covered their stockade and village below. The march had been effected through heavy grass and clumps of bamboos, but our troops were by this time inured to their work, and in good marching condition; and, our rockets and howitzers having opened fire, the enemy was driven out of the jungle. Our attacking-party advanced on the stockades, but on our approach they were found vacated. The Column now halted for four days; the European soldiers amusing themselves by hunting and killing the huge snakes, large numbers of which were found in the jungles.

January 14th,—18th, 1853.

An eight-mile march brought us to Gongoh, after having viewed the enemy at some of their outposts, from which a sudden fire was opened on our advancing troops. Gongoh was defended by stockaded breast-works, which were covered by a deep ditch, and numerous pits with bamboo spikes. The enemy at first showed some confidence, firing round-shot into the head of our Column; but our two howitzers and a rocket tube, having been with difficulty dragged to the front through the heavy swamp and long grass, and brought into action, the storming-party under Major Seaton of the Bengal Fusiliers advanced.

On reaching the stockade it was found that the enemy had

retreated, leaving from 80 to 100 dead; many having been thrown
January 19th, 1853. into the wells in order to poison the water. At 3 p.m. the troops encamped, having, during their trying march, suffered much from the sun overhead, and the swampy nature of the ground underfoot.

After this affair at Gongoh the Burmese made no stand whatever; our onward march was unopposed, and our General's difficulties consisted mainly in obtaining information as to the best positions for our camping grounds, near sweet wells or streams. On the 21st January Ouchtada was reached, and so on to Beling, which was occupied on the 28th January; vast quantities of rice falling into the hands of the Commissariat. Many of our marches were made through dense forests, infested by wild beasts and reptiles; our track being entirely sheltered from the sun by huge teak-trees, whilst enormous elephant creepers climbed from limb to limb, connecting these kings of the forest by long boughs, laden with highly-coloured and luxuriant orchids, occasionally forming vistas resembling the aisles of a Cathedral. The crossing of the many streams which intersected the country was sometimes arduous, occupying several hours, but all ranks worked cheerfully; and the Bengal Sepahis willingly assisted the Europeans, by helping them to carry their arms and accoutrements, as they waded breast-high through the Nullahs.

After eight fatiguing, but highly-interesting marches, the Column, on the 11th February, reached Shoé Gyne, an important city situated on the left bank of the river Sitanj. Next day the Army was refreshed by the sight of the steam-frigate "Feroze," which, with three gun-boats, formed the convoy of a welcome supply of provisions for our troops.

At Shoé Gyne the natives seemed well-disposed to the British; and, although at first timid, they soon found they were in no way molested, and flocked to their markets, offering grain, vegetables, cloth, &c., competing eagerly for the custom of the Europeans.

The strong stockade to the north of the town was soon

converted into a scientifically-constructed post by our Field-Engineer, between which stockade and the town our camp was picturesquely situated close by the rivers Shoé Gyne and Sitanj. 1853.

A "Light Division" of the "Martaban Column" was now formed, consisting of about 900 men, with whom were 200 of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under Major Gerrard, the remainder of the Regiment being left with the force which garrisoned Shoé Gyne.

After a hearty "God speed" from their comrades, the "Flying Column" commenced its march to Tonghoo on the 15th February; and the General, using the best information procurable, traversed this country, hitherto unknown to European troops. On the 21st Shandobin, on the banks of the Sitanj river, was reached, a distance of 54 miles from Shoé Gyne. Here the Column was halted, and a parley held across the river with a Burmese Chief, who appeared on the opposite bank, interrogating the Quartermaster-General as to our intentions in invading the country. Invited to visit our camp and be introduced to our General, the Chief declined, and, putting spurs to his horse, rode away towards Tonghoo.

February 15th, 1853.

February 21st, 1853.

The passage of the Sitanj river was accomplished on the 22nd February, the greater part of the Column being carried over on elephants. The troops then formed up and marched towards Tonghoo, but they had not proceeded far when they were met by the Authorities of the district, who came to surrender themselves and their ancient walled town of Tonghoo to the British General. The troops were soon housed in the numerous Poonghee or priest's houses; which were airy, well-ventilated buildings, constructed of timber, with side-screens or windows of bamboo. These buildings are usually placed on piles or stakes, and raised about 6 feet from the ground, to allow the water to flow freely during the heavy periodical rains.

February 22nd, 1853.

A small detachment of Ramghur Horse was sent from Tonghoo in pursuit of the retreating Burmese Army, Captains Fanshawe and Maxwell, of the Bengal Fusiliers, accompanying this Cavalry.

1853. The British soon cleared the whole country of their enemies, expelling them from Martaban on the south, to 30 miles north of Tonghoo; and thenceforward the country about this town was as quiet and peaceable as any of our home districts.*

On the 11th of April the 1st Bengal Fusiliers left Tonghoo *en route* for Rangoon, having been relieved by a detachment of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, the headquarters of that Regiment arriving soon after. The return under an April sun was trying, and rendered night marches a necessity.

Before reaching Shoé Gyne our Regiment sustained a great loss by the sudden and unexpected death of Captain Edmund Byng, A.D.C., who died of heat-apoplexy, whilst being carried in a dhooly on the line of march. Captain Byng had lately returned to India from England, and was proceeding to rejoin his staff appointment, when, finding that his Regiment was on service, he hastened to join the headquarters; but, as he was not acclimatised, he sunk under the heat, his health rapidly gave way, and he succumbed as described. Byng was one of those jovial characters always popular with his brother Officers, who deeply deplored his sad death.

A detachment of the 1st Bengal Europeans, under Major Douglas Seaton, remained at Shoé Gyne, and the headquarters proceeded by boat to Rangoon; about 100 men under Lieutenant Hickey being left at Pegu, to reinforce the stockade garrison at that place.

During the time that the detachment under Major Seaton was stationed at Shoé Gyne, the Burmese soldiers attacked a small garrison of Madras Native Infantry, who occupied a stockade at Beling, a village to the south-east. The Native Infantry were forced to retire, the European Officer in command having been dangerously wounded. It was now ordered that the Beling Stockade be re-taken, and the road between Moulmien and

* Major Gerrard, commanding the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, received the thanks of Brigadier-General Steele for his "ready and untiring aid on" "all emergencies."

Tonghoo re-opened. Major Seaton, commanding the detachment 1853.
of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers at Shoé Gyne, was instructed to send one Company to join the force for the re-capture of Beling. No. 1 was the Company selected, commanded by Captain G. C. Lambert, Lieutenant Walter Davison being the Subaltern. A small fleet of country boats was collected as quickly as possible, and in these the detachment proceeded down the river Sittang to the town of that name, where they landed. They then marched towards Beling, the Sittang Garrison furnishing as many men as could be spared, in addition to which were the Native Infantry who had retired from the Stockade at Beling. The combined force now advanced to the attack, the Company of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers being ordered to assault the front face of the Stockade, whilst some of the British troops were sent to cut off the enemy's retreat, should they evacuate their position. Captain Lambert's Company advanced, covered by skirmishers, and were received with a sharp fire of small arms; nevertheless, they reserved their fire, and, rushing to the front, succeeded in scaling the Stockade and opening one of the gates from the inside, through which the main portion of the British troops entering, the enemy beat a retreat through a sortie-gate in the rear face of the Stockade. The jungle proved so dense that the retreating Burmese managed to escape the vigilance of our troops, who were waiting in ambush to pounce upon them. The British detachment remained a few days in the neighbourhood, and then, having garrisoned the Stockade, returned to their respective stations.

The Governor-General in Council expressed great satisfaction at the manner in which these and other operations had been executed, and at the conduct and gallantry of the troops engaged.

Before the end of 1853 the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, which had for many months been divided into small commands, was again assembled together, and sent to garrison our newly-acquired frontier towns, Thayetmyo and Mecaday, and, hostilities

1853. having completely ceased, the Regiment enjoyed the repose and comfort to which it was fairly entitled, after its exposure to trying climates and onerous duties performed during the past two years.

The second Burmese War resulted in the British territories on the east of the Bay of Bengal being vastly increased; these now including the rich province of Pegu in addition to those of Araran and Tenasserim, covering an area of 88,556 square miles, with a population since estimated at 2,942,605.*

Towards the end of 1854 the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers was relieved by H.M. 29th Regiment; the former proceeding to Rangoon in flats towed by river steamers; and after a delay of a few weeks the Regiment was conveyed in the Company's transports to Calcutta, where it arrived in February, 1855, having been absent from India two-and-a-half years.

* For annexation of Burmah, Proclamation, 30th June, 1853, see Appendix C.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers quartered at Dugshai—Discontent in the Native Army—Annexation of Oude—Increasing Mutinous feelings in the Native Army—Outbreak at Lucknow—Outbreak at Meerut—Mutiny arrested at Lahore—The 1st Bengal Fusiliers ordered to join the Army before Delhie—Battle of Budlee-ka-Serai—Attack on the Eed Gar Serai—Daily fighting before Delhie—Attack on the Subzi Mundi—News of the Massacre of Cawnpore—Gallant Attack by the enemy on the British position—The 1st Bengal Fusiliers attached to General Nicholson's Flying Column—Attack on the enemy's picket outside the Cashmere Gate—Battle of Nujjuf Ghur—The Storm of Delhie—The 1st Bengal Fusiliers lead the Storming-Party under General Nicholson—The Struggle for the Mastery—Capture of the Moree Bastion by Lieutenant G. N. Money—The Attack on the Burn Bastion—The Second Column—The Third Column—The Fourth Column—Days following the Assault—Final Capture of the City of Delhie—Lieutenant Hodson captures the King—Shoots the Shahzadas—After the Fall of Delhie.

REMAINING in camp at Calcutta for a few weeks, the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers proceeded up-country in river steamers to Dinapore, where it occupied the barracks built in 1768; described in those days as being on a "grand scale," but now condemned as unfit for the accommodation of European soldiers.

In January, 1856, the Regiment marched from Dinapore to Cawnpore, the Right Wing and Headquarters proceeding on to Dugshai, a newly-built cantonment on the second range of the Himalayas. The Right Wing marched from Dugshai in November, and the Left Wing from Cawnpore in December, to Umballa; where the Regiment joined the Camp of Exercise, and in March, 1857, the entire Regiment proceeded to Dugshai.

Enemies from without there were none at this time, but for the

1856. past few years there had been a growing feeling of discontent in the ranks of the Native Army, which in some instances had broken into open mutiny, quickly crushed by decided action, but still smouldering. As far back as 1844 some of the Native Regiments had expressed dissatisfaction, the old "batta" question having been revived and put forward as the ostensible grievance. Then came the Seik Wars; when the victories gained by the Company's troops for a time silenced the mutterings of the Native soldiers. The Sepahis hated and dreaded the Khalsa, whose discomfiture was a source of much congratulation, the more so as the Sutlej and Punjab triumphs were partly achieved by the co-operation of our Native army.

But, however satisfactory our conquests may have been to the Sepahis, they soon experienced, with something approaching to dismay, that the increased extent of our territory entailed harder work and extra responsibility, without a proportionate increase of pay. There was a more galling grievance: the Seiks had been invited to take service in our Army, and, the offer having been heartily responded to, the Sepahis trembled lest these stalwart Northmen should prove so useful to our Government that the services of the old Native soldiers would be thrown into the shade, and, possibly, ultimately dispensed with altogether.

These suspicions engendered discontent, the more so as reports were being freely circulated, and believed, to the effect that the British were about to deprive the Sepahis of their caste, by surreptitiously mixing bone-dust with their food, tearing down the purdahs from their zenanahs, forcing all widows to re-marry, and ruthlessly interfering with all their religious prejudices; finally compelling the Native soldiers to defile themselves by taking between their teeth pig's and bullock's fat, which it was stated was being used in the manufacture of the new cartridges.*

* The following extract from a petition presented to a Commanding Officer of a Native Infantry Regiment shows the true feeling of the Sepahis at this time, and sets forth their grievances: "The representation of the whole Station" "is this, that we will not give up our religion. We serve for honour and"

But whilst dissatisfaction and suspicion had been gaining ground 1856.
in the Native Army at the frequent accessions to the Company's territories, the large enlistment of the Seiks, the widely-circulated reports touching interference with caste prejudices, the Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie) in Council, under orders received from the Court of Directors, 2nd January, 1856, was directed to pursue a course of policy which would at once have fanned the embers of discontent into a flame, had the Native Army been at that time fully prepared for unanimous action.

Sir James Outram, the English Resident at the Court at Lucknow, was instructed by the Calcutta Council to inform the King of Oude that our Government had decided that he was to be deposed, and the East India Company to rule in his stead. The King was urged to abdicate, and by treaty to appoint the East India Company to the Government of his kingdom, the King being provided with a maintenance allowance of £120,000

"religion; if we lose our religion, the Hindu and Mahomedan religions will"
"be destroyed. If we live, what shall we do? You are the masters of the"
"country. The Lord Sahib (Governor-General) has given orders, which he"
"has received from the Company, to all Commanding Officers to destroy the"
"religion of the country. We know this, as all things are being designed"
"by Government. The Officers of the Salt Department mix up bones with"
"the salt. The Officer in charge of the Ghee mixes up fat with it; this is"
"well known. These are two matters. The third is this: that the Sahib"
"in charge of the sugar burns up bones and mixes them in the syrup the"
"sugar is made of; this is well known—all know it. The fourth is this:"
"that in the country the Burra Sahibs (Government-Commissioners) have"
"ordered the Rajas, Thakurs, Zemindars, Mahajuns, and Ryots, all to eat"
"together, and English bread has been sent to them; this is well known."
"And there is another affair, that throughout the country the wives of"
"respectable men, in fact, all classes of Hindus, on becoming widows are to"
"be married again—this is well known. Therefore we consider ourselves"
"as killed. You all obey the orders of the Company, which we all know."
"But a King, or any other man, who acts unjustly does not remain. With"
"reference to the Sepahis, they are your servants; but to destroy their"
"caste, a council assembled and decided to give them muskets and cartridges"
"made up with greased paper to bite; this is also evident. We wish to"
"represent this to the General that we do not approve of the new musket"
"and cartridge; the Sepahis cannot use them. You are the masters of the"
"country; if you will give us all our discharge we will go away."

1856. per annum. In the event of a refusal, Sir James Outram was ordered to publish, in alternative, the annexation order which he already held. The King was at first obdurate; then, bursting into tears, prayed for time, promised to reform, and finally refused to sign the proposed abdication. "He uncovered his head, placed" "his turban in the hands of the Resident, and sorrowfully" "declared that title, rank, honour, everything were gone, and" "that now the British Government, which had made his" "grandfather a King, might reduce him to nothing and consign" "him to obscurity."* But Outram's orders were peremptory; he issued the annexation order, and Oude became British territory.

The Kingdom of Oude had for many years been in a chronic state of misrule and anarchy, its people calling loudly on our Government for reform. Colonel Sleeman, who had for many years been the British representative at the Oude Court, drew a painful picture of the state of the country during his tenure of office; saying—the landowners "take to indiscriminate plunder" "and murder," "no road, town, hamlet, or village is secure" "from their merciless attacks—robbery and murder become" "their diversion, their sport; and they think no more of taking" "the lives of men, women, and children who never offended" "them than those of deer or wild hogs. They not only rob" "and murder, but seize, confine, and torture all whom they" "seize and suppose to have money or credit, till they ransom" "themselves with all they have or can beg or borrow." No wonder, then, that the people of Oude called loudly for redress and reform.

A very large proportion of our Bengal Native Army was enlisted in Oude, being subjects of the dethroned King. The anarchy and misrule which had existed around their homes did not in any way adversely affect their interests or comfort, for, being soldiers in the Company's Army, they had always the right of appeal for redress to the British Resident; nay more—the

* Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War." Vol. I., p. 150.

knowledge of this right placed them in an exalted position 1857.
amongst their brethren, giving them an influence and power otherwise unattainable. Hence, service in the Company's Army had always been popular in Oude, and in some families was held to be an hereditary right. The annexation of Oude to the territories of the East India Company placed redress in the hands of all alike, and deprived the Sepahis of what they held to be a distinctive right; and this was another fire-brand adding fuel to the smouldering heap of discontent which was being daily developed into a flame.

The annexation of Oude was the last act of Lord Dalhousie's administration. It was reserved for his successor, Lord Canning, to complete the work.

Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence, who had so successfully transformed the Punjab from its previous state of anarchy into prosperity and confidence, was now appointed Chief Commissioner in Oude; the government of the Punjab having been handed over to his brother, Sir John Lawrence. Sir Henry had but a short time assumed office when his serious attention was directed to the mutinous feelings existing, not only in the Regular Native Regiments, but in those which had been transferred to our service from that of the deposed King. Sir Henry Lawrence had with him at Lucknow H.M. 32nd Foot, some Cavalry, and European Artillery. On May 3rd it was reported by the Brigadier that the 7th Oude Irregulars had assumed a dangerous, defiant attitude, and were unreservedly talking of bloodshed and murder. Though late in the evening, Lawrence conceived that the time had arrived for action; and, ordering out the troops at his disposal, marched right through the rebellious City in the direction of the lines of the 7th Oude Irregulars. It was a fine, cloudless night, and the moon was shining brightly. After a march of about seven miles the European troops arrived at their destination, taking up ground so as to command the mutineers in front and on both flanks. The 7th Regiment was

1857. found already drawn up on parade. Lawrence's decided action had taken them by surprise, and they were paralysed; death was staring them in the face; they broke their ranks, and some fled in terror, whilst others, assuming a repentant air, gave up their arms and accoutrements. The fugitives were pursued by our Cavalry; whilst those who had submitted were marched back under charge of the 32nd Foot; the whole party returning to Lucknow before daybreak.

But this insubordination amongst the Irregulars at Lucknow, was merely the forerunner of the discontent which had been surely spreading throughout the entire Bengal Native Army.

Meerut, the headquarters of the Bengal Artillery, the Carabineers and 60th Rifles, was considered comparatively safe; but it was here that the flames first burst forth in all their fury, leaving no doubt that the Mutiny of the Native soldiers was not confined to one district or cantonment, but that it was national; the whole of the Sepahi Regiments, well-drilled, well-armed, and full of confidence, were resolved to try issue with the handful of our Europeans, separated by long distances, and spread over a vast tract of country.

At Meerat, on the 10th of May, the Native troops rose in Mutiny; breaking open the jail, killing all Europeans within their reach, firing the houses of their Officers, and hurrying in the direction of Delhie, where they were joined by the Mutineers at that city, who rose and murdered all the Europeans who fell into their hands, without respect to age or sex; and, proclaiming the aged King of Delhie, Emperor of Hindustan, closed the gates of the Fortress, and set at defiance the British Government.

The thunder-cloud had burst; but the fury of the storm was not yet realised at Headquarters. Had the action of the Sepahis been simultaneous at all the Military Stations throughout the Presidency, the effect might have been fatal; but the intelligence of mutinies, conflagrations, and hideous wholesale murders,

arrived at intervals; allowing time for our Commanders to issue 1857.
their orders and complete arrangements for resistance.

All reports received by the Commander-in-Chief tended to show that the Sepahi Regiments of the Bengal Army were, without exception, more or less implicated; and it was patent to all that the great question on which the maintenance of our power existed was, whether the Seiks would declare for or against us.

Sir John Lawrence was Chief-Commissioner of the Punjab. It was he who had asked the Seiks whether they would be governed by the pen or the sword; they had chosen the former, and now all eyes were anxiously turned towards John Lawrence, hoping that by his influence with the Seiks, India might be saved. The British had governed the Punjab for close on ten years; the people appreciated the blessings of security of property which our rule had ensured; they found that our Judges were just, and our Magistrates listened patiently to their complaints of wrong. This was a state of things to which they had previously been strangers. They had not, like the Hindustanees, forgotten, in the lapse of years, the difference between the undue favouritism of Native rule and the impartial justice of the British Government; and, moreover, the Khalsa hated and despised the Sepahis, with whom they had no interests in common; but, notwithstanding all these considerations, their decision was trembling in the balance, and it needed a master-mind to turn the scale in our favour. John Lawrence was the man who brought his influence to bear: he turned the scale in our favour.

Then from Lahore came the assuring intelligence that Mr. Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, in concert with the Military Commanders, had, with decision and courage, by a *coup-de-main*, succeeded in disarming the disaffected Sepahis at that Station, and transferring the guardianship of the Fort from their charge to that of the 81st Foot; and thus, without bloodshed or destruction of property, the Capital of the Punjab was secured

"East India Register," December 31, 1855.

FIRST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS.

(Right Wing.)

'PLASSEY," "BUXAR," "GUZERAT," "DEIG," "BHURTPORE," "AFGHANISTAN,' "GHUZNEE," "FEROZSHAH," "SOBRAON."

Season.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
	COLONEL.			
1798	J. MacInnes.....	13 May, '25 ...	G. 4 July, '36 L. G.	Furlough
1815	George Warren	5 Dec., '53 ...	28 Nov., '54 ...	do.
	LIEUTENANT-COLONEL.			
1809	F. Jenkins	16 Oct., '51 ...	C. 28Nov.,'54	Civil Employ.
1820	J. Welchman	4 July, '53 ...	C. 14 July, '58	
	MAJOR.			
1837	Geo. O. Jacob	...	5 March, '56	Punjab Cavalry
	CAPTAINS.			
1840	Geo. G. Denniss	29 June, '49 ...		
,,	Southwell Greville...	1 March, '50		
,,	H.B. Edwardes, C.B.	...	Lt.-Col. 28th Nov. '54.	
,,	Alex. Hume.....	16 July, '51 ...		
1842	Ellis Cunliffe	18 April, '53	...	On Furlo'.
1843	F. O. Salusbury	1 October	...	do.
,,	C. O'B. Palmer	20 March, '54		
1844	C. R.Wriford	5 April, '55 ...	...	do.
—	Edwd. Brown	14 Jan., '56 ...		
1845	Geo. C. Lambert ...	1 Feb., '56 ...		
1844	Trevor Wheler	5 March		
1845	W. R. H. I. Howell	...	...	Sub.Ast.Com.Gen.
,,	E. St. George			
	LIEUTENANTS.			
,,	H. F. M. Boisragon	13 Oct., '46 ...	...	2nd in comd. Kemaon Battn.
,,	R. J. I. Hickey	17 June, '48 ...	...	2nd in comd. 15th In. Cavalry
,,	W. S. R. Hodson ...	1 April, '49 ...		
,,	N. T. Parsons	29 June		

FIRST EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS (*Continued*).

Season.	NAMES.	Rank in the Regiment.	Rank in the Army.	REMARKS.
	LIEUTS. (*continued*).			
1845	G. M. Battye	23 Jan., 50 ...	...	Civil Employ.
,,	Geo. Price	1 March	...	Dep. Pub. Works
1846	R. C. Birch	1 March		
,,	W. Davison	16 July, '51 ...		
1848	H. Maxwell	7 Aug., '52 ...		
,,	H. M. Wemyss	18 April, '58...		
1849	J. Morland	5 March, '54		
1849	J. S. Ingram	20 March, '54	...	Dep. Pub. Works
1851	C. MacFarlane	10 May		
,,	L. B. Magniac	17 June, '55 ...	...	Furlo'.
,,	J. W. Daniell	5 Dec.		
,,	E. A. C. Lambert ...	14 Jan., '56 ...		
1852	Montagu Hall	1 February ...		
1853	G N. Money	5 March, '56		
,,	J. S. Walters			
—	W. C. Cox			
1854	T. A. Butler			
,,	W. A. D. Cairnes ...			
	2ND LIEUTENANTS.			
,,	N. H. Wallace.....	9 March, '55	9 Dec., '54 ...	
1855	A. G. Owen	18 December	4 Oct., '55	
,,	F. D. M. Brown	7 March, '56	8 December ...	
1856	N. Ellis	15 April	20 Jan., '56 ...	
,,	A. R. Chapman	27 June	4 January ...	
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	,,			
	,,			

(Left Wing.)

	MAJOR.		L. C.	
1827	Jas. Ruth. Pond	1 Dec., '55 ...	20 Jan., '54 ...	
	CAPTAIN.			
1828	Douglas Seaton	10 Feb., '46 ...	20 Jan., '54 ...	Furlo'.

Facings, Dark Blue.

Adjutant to the Regiment, H. M. WEMYSS, 3 July, '55.
Quartermaster do.
Surgeon do. E. HARE, 24 May, '55.
Asst. Surgeon do.

1857. by a *ruse*, which gained the respect and ensured the goodwill of the Seiks.

A moveable Column of some of our choicest Seik troops was placed under command of General Neville Chamberlain; and, with every demonstration of loyalty, was marching to join the British Army already beleaguering the strongly-fortified City of Delhie.

Meanwhile, on the morning of the 13th of May, Major G. O. Jacob, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, rode into Dugshai from Simla, with orders from the Commander-in-Chief for the Regiment to march as soon as arrangements could be completed to Umballa, where further orders would await them. The soldiers of the Regiment were immediately assembled on parade, the weakly men being formed into a depôt for the protection of the sick and Station of Dugshai; and, such was the energy displayed by all, that at 4 p.m. on the same day on which the order had been received, the Regiment commenced its march towards Umballa, probably never in finer condition to take the field, both in physique and discipline.* The Regiment was 800 strong, there was not a recruit in the ranks, and there had for many months preceding been almost a total absence of crime. Orderly room was held but once a week; and more frequently than otherwise there was a clean sheet. The march to Umballa, a distance of 60 miles, was accomplished in 38 hours; the Regiment arriving at their desti-

May 13th, 1857

* The following Officers were present with the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers when the Regiment marched from Dugshai on May 13th, 1857:

Major G. O. Jacob.
Captain G. G. Denniss.
„ S. Greville.
„ C. Wriford.
Lieutenant W. S. R. Hodson.
„ J. W. Daniell.
„ E. A. C. Lambert.
„ J. S. Walters.
„ J. A. Butler.
„ W. A. D. Cairnes.
„ N. H. Wallace.
2nd Lieutenant A. G. Owen.
„ F. D. M. Brown.
„ N. Ellis.
„ A. R. Chapman.
„ W. H. Warner.

Regimental Staff.

Adjutant-Lieut. H. M. Wemyss.
Intr. and Qr. Mr. C. MacFarlane.
Surgeon Boughton.
Assistant-Surgeon Charles.

May 15th—31st, 1857. nation at 7 a.m. on the 15th May. Orders were received on the 17th for four Companies of the Regiment to proceed at once to Kurnaul, the remaining Companies and Headquarters following on the 21st May. It was from this place that Lieutenant W. S. Hodson, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, performed the daring feat of riding by himself with dispatches through a hostile country to Meerut and back, 150 miles. The British force was now assembling at Alipore, one march out of Delhie. 1857.

The Headquarters and six Companies of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, under Captain Boyd, had joined the Army from Umballa, four Companies having remained at that Station under Captain Harris to keep open communication with the Punjab.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers were appointed to the 1st Brigade,

May 21st—June 7th, 1857. under Brigadier Showers; and Colonel Welchman and Captain Brown having joined on 5th June from Dugshai, the former assumed command of the Regiment.

On the 7th June Lieutenant Butler arrived at the Headquarters from leave of absence, having, in his anxiety to be at his post, ridden across country on one horse, 110 miles in 40 hours.

All being in readiness, on June 7th, orders were issued for a general advance towards Delhie, the troops, on account of the excessive heat, marching at midnight. As the town of Budlee-ka-Serai, held in great force by the enemy, was on the road between Alipore and Delhie, an immediate attack on it was ordered. For this purpose, on the early morning of the 8th June, Nos. 5 and 6 Companies of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under command of Captain Brown, formed the advanced Guard; but when within about 1200 yards of the enemy's position, they found themselves under such a heavy Artillery fire that they were ordered to take ground to their right and await the arrival of their Headquarters. The whole Regiment now advanced to the attack across the open plain, the enemy's fire perceptibly increasing at every step, so that 20 or 30 of our men

1857. were killed or wounded; amongst the latter being Captain Greville and Lieutenant Ellis.

The Regiment was now ordered to take advantage of some rising ground about 400 yards in advance of the enemy's main battery, from which position it attacked a village, defeating a large body of the mutineers, who had kept up a galling fire on our advancing troops. A general assault was next made on the enemy's position at Budlee-ka-Serai, which was completely successful; they being forced to retire from the village on their main Army at Delhie, hotly pursued by our troops as far as the Ridge,* where the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, after having been fighting and marching for fifteen consecutive hours, joined the British head-quarter camp.

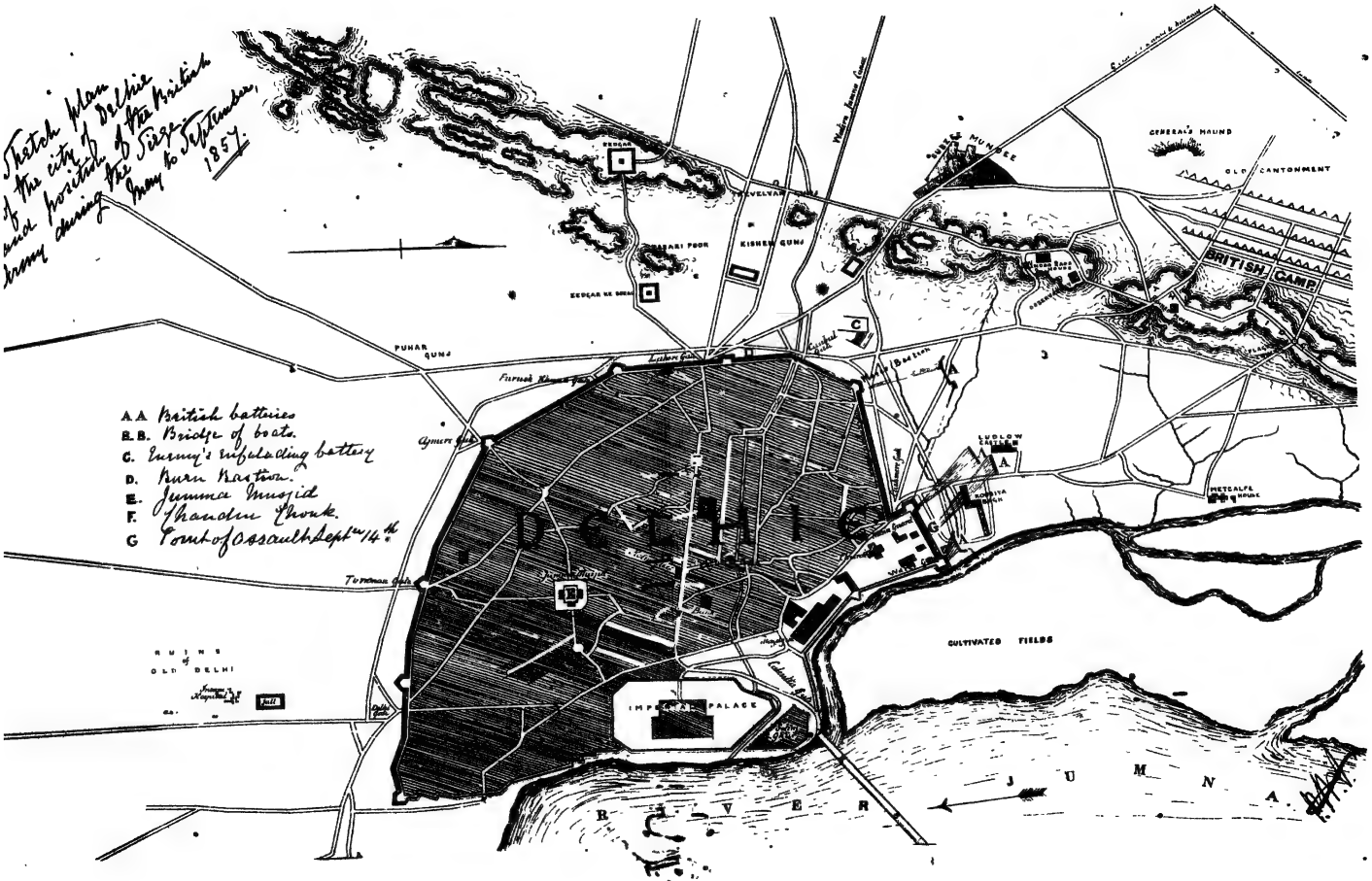
The 2nd Bengal Fusiliers also rendered excellent service at the attack on the enemy's position at Budlee-ka-Serai.

On June 9th there was some severe skirmishing, when Drum-Major Mc Gill, of the 1st European Regiment, a man selected for this post on account of his grand stature and splendid figure, was accidentally left wounded on the field, his body being recovered the next morning, terribly mutilated.

On the 11th of June a memorandum was presented to General Barnard, commanding the British Army before Delhie, by a Committee which had been appointed by him to survey the ground and recommend a plan of attack. Lieutenant W. S. Hodson, of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, now attached to the Quartermaster-General's Department, was a member of this Committee, which recommended that our troops should storm the city at once by a *coup-de-main* at the Cabul and Cashmere gates, advancing under existing cover to within 400 to 900 yards respectively, the main assault being made at the Cabul gate "by" "the channel through which the canal flows from the city."

This scheme, which had been elaborated with great care, and at

* "The Ridge" is an outcrop of rocks forming a natural defence in front of the ground occupied by the British Army.


Sketch plan of the city of Delhie and position of the British army during the Siege. May to September, 1857.
A.A. British batteries
B.B. Bridge of boats.
C. Enemy's enfilading battery
D. Burn Bastion.
E. Jumma Musjid
F. Chandni Chouk.
G Point of Assault Septr 14th
DELHIE
BRITISH CAMP
GENERAL'S MOUND
OLD CANTONMENT
KISHEN GUNS
PUHAR GUNS
Ajmere Gate
Turkman Gate
RUINS of OLD DELHI
Jail
IMPERIAL PALACE
CULTIVATED FIELDS
LUDLOW CASTLE
METCALFE HOUSE
RIVER JUMNA

considerable personal risk, was approved of by the General, and im- 1857.
mediate orders were issued for its execution; but, when the troops assembled in the evening, 300 of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were absent, being on picket at our outposts, under Brigadier Greaves; who declined the responsibility of withdrawing his men without written orders. He was confirmed in his resolve, as some of our advanced batteries were under charge of Native soldiers whose loyalty he doubted. As it was deemed by the General injudicious to attempt the assault without these 300 men, the execution of the scheme was deferred and ultimately abandoned.

The project for a *coup-de-main* which had been recommended by the Committee was bold and undoubtedly feasible, and, had it been carried into effect thus early in the siege, there is every reason to believe that the contemplated assault would have been successful. But General Barnard feared that, could he occupy the city, with its extensive fortifications, he had not sufficient troops at his disposal to hold the position; but, on the other hand, had Delhie been captured by our troops in June, and the enemy driven out before they had gained confidence, it is probable that our casualties would have been fewer than in September, when the defences had been strengthened and the numbers of the mutineers vastly increased. It must, however, be borne in mind that had we failed in our attempt on account of the smallness of our force, the effect would have been indeed disastrous.

After the abandonment of the scheme for an immediate assault there were daily skirmishes with the enemy; during one of which, on the 12th June, Lieutenant Thomas Cadell, of the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers, won the Victoria Cross, for having "brought in from amongst the enemy a wounded bugler belong-" "ing to his own Regiment;" and a second time proceeded with three men of H.M. 75th Regiment, under a very heavy fire, and "brought in a man of the 75th who was most severely wounded."

On the 17th June 300 of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers

1857. formed part of a force ordered to drive the enemy out of a defended position, called "Eed Gar;" and the work was performed with courage and decision, one of the enemy's heavy guns being captured by our troops. But here Captain E. Brown* was dangerously wounded, the little finger of his right hand being shot off, a bullet passing through his left wrist, striking his chin, smashing his right collar-bone, and from thence lodging in his chest; in addition, he received a flesh wound in his right breast.

June 17th, 1857.

On the 19th and 20th June the Right Wing of the Regiment, under Major G. O. Jacob, was engaged in some severe encounters with the enemy in rear of our camp; the fighting was chiefly after dark, our men behaving with gallantry and steadiness. Again, on the 23rd June, the whole Regiment was engaged from daybreak till dark.

There was a prophecy, dated immediately after the Battle of Plassey—23rd June, 1757—to the effect that the Company's rule would last only one hundred years. This prophecy had often been quoted by those who for the last few years had been inciting the Sepahis to mutiny; and no doubt the feelings of the mutineers were worked upon by its repetition when they made their determined attack on the 23rd June, 1857. To the 1st Bengal Europeans it was painfully memorable; for although the enemy failed to make the slightest impression on our defences, they succeeded in severely wounding our Commanding Officer, Colonel Welchman, whilst gallantly leading his Regiment to the front. Falling from his horse he was carried to the rear, when it was found that the elbow joint of his right arm was completely shattered.

Private John McGovern, of the 1st European Fusiliers, during the action on the 23rd of June, gained the Victoria Cross for gallant conduct, "he having carried into camp a wounded com-" "rade, under a heavy fire from the enemy's battery, at the risk" "of his own life."†

* Now in H.M. Body Guard.

† Extract from "The Victoria Gallery, an Official Chronicle."

During this engagement the 1st Bengal Fusiliers lost 40 men, 1857.
of whom 11 were killed. The 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, who also rendered excellent service, lost Lieutenant Jackson, and 7 men killed and 19 wounded.

The heat during these mid-day encounters was telling adversely on our men, who suffered terribly from exhaustion and thirst, frequently terminating in cholera, sunstroke, and death.

June 23rd—June 30th, 1857.

On the 1st July Lieutenant Money joined the Headquarters of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, in command of a detachment of about 200 men from the Regimental Depôt at Dugshai. The ranks of the Regiment having been seriously thinned by casualties from the effect of exposure and losses in the field, this addition to its strength was most opportune.

On July 9th an abortive attack was made by the enemy on our camp. There had been heavy firing all the morning from the enemy's batteries, and about 11 a.m., our guns on the "General's" "Mound" opened fire, when the alarm and assembly were sounded. Whilst the Regiment was "falling-in" a heavy musketry fire was kept up on the right, the bullets frequently cutting through the tents; at the same time a frightened mob of our camp-followers, rushing through the camp, crying out that the enemy were following them, and had already captured two of our guns.

There being no time for regular formation, the Regiment went off at the double to the right rear of our camp, where it was met by some of our Native Artillerymen, who said that our own Cavalry had mutinied and were attempting to carry away our guns. For about ten minutes the most complete clamour and confusion prevailed. We had little over 100 men in all, the rest of the Regiment being on picket duty; and we suddenly found ourselves confronted by about 500 Cavalry. We soon, however, drove them back, and the affair was over before reinforcements came up.

June 9th, 1857.

On Sunday, July 5th, General Barnard's seat at church was

1857. vacant, he having that morning been struck down by cholera, and before evening he was dead. He had written to Lord Canning some few months previous, "Cannot you find some tough job for" "me to do?" The "job" which had been found was too "tough" for him: he, like Henry Lawrence, falling whilst trying to do his duty.

General Reed succeeded, by seniority, to the command of the Army; but he soon resigned, his health having completely given way under the anxiety and responsibility of his position; and the command now devolved on Brigadier Archdale Wilson.

It was, perhaps, fortunate that our troops before Delhie were at this time in complete ignorance of what had been taking place at a distance from their scene of action. The reports which had reached our camp were encouraging, and produced a reasonable hope of the speedy arrival of additional troops. It was not known that at Cawnpore the British were beleaguered in their entrenchments, that the city of Lucknow was in the full possession of the rebels, and that nearly all the Stations, Civil and Military, in the Bengal Presidency, were in the hands of the Mutineers.

During the afternoon of the 14th July the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were ordered out to clear the Subzi Mundi of the enemy. Marching straight down the road which leads to Delhie, the Regiment received the fire of the enemy on both flanks; No 1 Company being now ordered to skirmish on the right and No 2 on the left. The enemy showed considerable determination—repeatedly charging in masses with fixed bayonets; but they were finally driven back into the gardens and enclosures about 300 yards from the city.

Anticipating an immediate attack on the Fortress, the enemy closed the gates, and poured a heavy grape-fire from the Moree Bastion, which, ploughing through our ranks, killed and wounded several of our men, whilst the shot from our own batteries in our rear, passing very close over the Regiment, caused some confusion. The enemy's Infantry, now forced back towards

the city walls, sought refuge in the passages which lead to the entrance gates, and their Cavalry at the same time, hurriedly galloping along the counter-scarp, eager to escape, plunged into the *sortie* passages—already filled with their Infantry—and fell headlong amongst the mass of fugitives, checked by the gates having been closed; when, however, the enemy realised that we had no intention of storming the Fortress they threw open the gates, and gradually succeeded in absorbing the quivering mass of horses and men vainly endeavouring to extricate themselves. 1857.

The objects for which the British detachment had been employed having been attained, and the Subzi Mundi cleared of the enemy, our troops were ordered to return to camp. During these operations, Lieutenant H. M. Wemyss, the Adjutant of the Regiment, was hit by a musket-ball on his side; but he refused to go to the rear, and continued to perform his duties. Lieutenant J. W. Daniell was also wounded; but in his case the injury was so severe that he was obliged to retire, "though the brave young" "Officer was loth to do so, and endeavoured, by attempting to" "whistle, to hide the agony he suffered."* The 1st Bengal Fusiliers during this engagement lost 64 killed and wounded. July 14th, 1857.

As our troops were returning to camp, after their hard day's work, they passed two men of the Seik Infantry assisting a wounded comrade, who was unable to walk; but the enemy's fire became so hot that they refused to carry the wounded man further, and left him to the mercy of the pursuers. Captain Greville ordered the Seiks to bring on their comrade; but they, having declined to further risk their lives, left the Seik to his fate; whereupon, Greville ran back a distance of some fifty yards, under a storm of bullets, placed the wounded man on his back, and carried him to a place of safety, for which act he received the thanks of Brigadier Showers, in command.

The heat in camp at this time was terrific, and it appears marvellous that disease was not more prevalent. The men were

* "1st Bengal Fusiliers in the Delhie Campaign," by J. P. Brougham.

1857. exposed during the day to a tropical sun, and all night to malarious dews; the air was tainted with every kind of nauseous smell; there

July 14th—23rd, 1857. was a total absence of any attempt at sanitary arrangements; camels and other animals, who had died or been killed, lay in all directions in close proximity to the camp, and dense clouds of flies rendered it unsafe to eat or drink without muslin having been previously placed over the face, the drinking-pot and plate. There thus appeared to be every enticement for disease; but, with the exception of occasional cases of sunstroke and cholera, and the casualties of war, our troops were far more healthy than we had any reason to expect; comparing not unfavourably with the time when our European troops are housed in barracks, with every comfort and luxury about them. Does not this state of things argue that occupation is more necessary to the well-being and health of the European soldier in India than all the punkahs, tatties, and other inventions for inducing the men to remain unoccupied in barracks?

On the 24th July news reached our camp of the treacherous capture and terrible fate of General Wheeler's garrison at Cawnpore, where "a great multitude" of women and children had been fiendishly hacked to pieces by the town butchers, under the orders of the ever-infamous Doondoo Punt, called the Nana. Up to this time the troops before Delhie had been cheered by reports of the rapid advance of a European force; but now the naked truth had been told; Wheeler's brave force, consisting of Officers, soldiers, with many women and young children, had been betrayed into a confidence which cost them all, save four,* their lives. All communication between Delhie and the lower provinces was closed, and the little British Army before Delhie must accomplish, unaided, the stupendous work it had undertaken; our sole hope being in the courage, discipline, and determination of our soldiers.

* One of the four who escaped from Cawnpore, Lieutenant Delafosse, afterwards joined the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers, and commanded the Regiment for several years.

It became evident, on the morning of the 1st August, that the 1857.
enemy had arranged an elaborate plan for a vigorous attack on the British position. At 5 a.m. on that day, masses of Sepahi Regiments were drawn up in battle array in front of our defences, and an attack by successive Divisions was continued until the morning of the 3rd, the firing on both sides being during this time uninterrupted. The shouts and yells from the enemy were loud and long; but in the main their attacks lacked earnestness, though the Sepahis made some bold rushes at our batteries, in front of which, where three determined charges had been made on the 2nd instant, their dead were now lying in heaps. At one point the dead were so numerous that they were heaped up, and used as cover for the attacking-parties, who advanced through the embrasures, in some instances engaging our gunners in a
August 3rd, 1857. hand-to-hand fight. The noise at this time was almost deafening; the constant roar of the Artillery and Musketry, the bugles sounding the advance along the whole front, whilst the shouts of the Native Commanders were distinctly heard, urging their men on to the attack.

This grand effort to push us from our position behind the ridge failed, and, as the British troops had all been acting solely on the defensive, our losses were comparatively trifling.

The 7th of August was rendered memorable by the explosion of the enemy's powder-magazine in the very heart of the city; this was a grand sight, producing, at the instant of explosion, an enormous cloud of dense smoke, which quickly rose, overshadowing the whole city with a heavy black pall, which was slowly swept by the wind across the plain.

The constant outpost-duty, although it was always undertaken with the utmost alacrity and good-humour, was found to be very irksome to the soldiers; those of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers being constantly on duty at "The Metcalf Stables," "The Mosque," and "Flagstaff" pickets; "but the most" "revolting and unwelcome outpost was commonly called 'The'"

1857 "'Valley of Death.' It was a small old ruined mosque or "
"shrine in the gorge of the valley, in rear of our batteries, and "
"was under a plunging fire from all the enemy's missiles that "
"passed over them. There was no cover, as it was impossible "
"to enter the building, owing to its being literally crowded "
"with cobras, and on the road where two of our sentries were "
"posted, there were dead camels lying in the last stage of de- "
"composition. A night on this picket, in the thick, muggy "
"atmosphere of the rainy season in July and August, under a "
"heavy fire, was almost too much for the best-intentioned "
"soldier to bear." *

On the 11th August the 1st European Regiment was attached to the Flying Column, under General Nicholson, who with his troops from the Punjab, had joined the besieging Army on the 7th.

On the 12th of August the 1st and 2nd Bengal European Regiments were employed with a force under Brigadier-General Showers, ordered to surprise some of the enemy's pickets outside the Cashmere Gate, the detachment quietly moving off at 2.30 a.m. The 1st Fusiliers were to attack the picket at "Ludlow Castle," whilst the 2nd, under Major Coke, advanced against some pickets in the "Koordsia Bagh."

The night was very dark, and the ground difficult. Major Coke was severely wounded soon after his party had started.

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 Companies of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under Captain Greville, were now ordered to form the attacking party, and advance in skirmishing order to the front; the remainder of the troops being held in reserve. The ground was open in front, and, under orders previously issued, strict silence was observed. As the advance-party moved along an order was given by their Commander in a whisper to fix bayonets, and pass the word on to the next files; and this order was obeyed without a sound. A challenge from one of the enemy's sentries broke the stillness:

* From the Diary of an Officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

"Hookum dar?" As we closed upon them silence was no 1857.
longer necessary; and the soldier challenged by the sentry replied, "Take that!" and, firing at the same time, shot him dead. It being still quite dark, there was great difficulty in ascertaining our exact position, or that of the enemy, but, from the direction of the challenge, it was evident that we had overlapped their position. Greville, therefore, closed his troops on their left, and at the same time brought their right shoulders forward, quickly forming his Companies in good order opposite "Ludlow Castle." The attacking-party now opened fire, preparatory to their charge. The enemy attempted to bring their batteries to bear on the advancing troops, but there was evidently no order amongst them, for they hesitated; and, after firing two of their guns, the main body of their troops attempted to escape. Our men at once
August 12th, 1857. closed on the Battery from whence the two shots had been fired; and Private Reagan, rushing upon a 24-pounder howitzer, which was charged with grape, attacked the gunners single-handed, and bayoneted one of them just as he was applying the portfire. Unhappily, Reagan fell, badly wounded and permanently disabled; but this brave man had the satisfaction of knowing that in risking his own life he saved that of many of his comrades. At this time the day began to dawn, enabling the attacking-party to completely clear the post of the enemy, and carry off four of his guns—2 9-pounders, 1 6-pounder, and 1 24-pounder howitzer—which, with their tumbrils, horses, and appointments, were at once escorted into camp. Captain S. Greville and Lieutenant A. G. Owen were wounded. Lieutenant G. W. Warner, who rendered good service on this occasion, escaped unhurt. Brigadier Showers, in his dispatch to the General commanding at Delhie, makes special reference to "the" "steadiness, silence, and order with which the 1st Bengal" "Fusiliers advanced to the attack on the enemy's guns, which" "was well conceived and gallantly executed by Major Jacob" "and the Officers and men of the Regiment under his command,"

1857. "and Captain S. Greville of the Regiment commanded the" "skirmishers who made the first attack on the guns."

The total loss of the Brigade on this occasion was 19 killed and 93 wounded. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers had 4 killed and 28 wounded; and the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, who also behaved with great gallantry, lost 1 Officer killed (Lieutenant Sherriff) and 7 men wounded.

On the 24th August the Flying Column, under General Nicholson, was sent from our camp against the enemy, who held a strong position at Nujjufghur. An Officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, who was present, gives the following description of the expedition:—

"Our Column marched out of camp at 11 p.m. on the 24th, "taking the route across country, the ground on account of the "rains being very heavy, so that we had repeatedly to unharness "the horses from the tumbrils and guns and drag them through "the morass, putting 100 of our men to each gun. At noon on "the 25th we halted for an hour, when grog was served out to "our men. At about 4 p.m., whilst the men were wading "through a jheel up to their waists in mud and water, the enemy "opened fire on our Regiment with shrapnell from an old "ruined Fort, which was concealed by some rising ground at a "distance of about 400 yards. Some of our Horse Artillery "and Cavalry had made a *détour* round the morass to our right "front. Our Regiment was now ordered to form line, taking "advantage of the cover afforded by a small ridge directly in "front, and at a distance of about 300 yards from the Fort. "General Nicholson addressed the troops, and turning to the "Regiment, he said: 'I have nothing to say to the 1st Fusi-" "'liers; they will do as they always do.' Major Jacob now "gave us the order to advance in line, which was done in mag-" "nificent style, the men reserving their fire, although the "enemy's Artillery and Musketry was pouring shot amongst us. "When we were at a distance of about 100 yards from the Fort,"

August 24th—26th, 1857. "Jacob gave the word to prepare to charge, when the front rank came to the long trail, the whole advancing straight as an arrow, when Jacob, seeing the men were as steady as rocks, gave the word to charge, when, with a wild cheer, the Regiment dashed at the Fort, and scrambling over the defences came face to face with the mutineers, who held their ground until our men were close upon them, when the enemy gave way; the Fort being quickly cleared of the mutineers, our Regiment formed up on the other side, and then rapidly advanced on the enemy's camp, which was to our front; but the capture of their Fort had evidently disheartened them, for they fled across the canal, leaving the whole of their camp equipage, baggage, and 13 guns in our possession; we pushing on towards the canal bridge, which we destroyed."

"The enemy now returned to the bank of the canal, and bringing with them two 9-pounders, opened a galling fire on our working-parties, but Major Tombs, having brought up his Horse Artillery, forced them to retire with the loss of one of their tumbrils, which he blew up with one of his shells. About two hours after sunrise next day we commenced our return march, halting at 11 a.m. for breakfast, this being the only meal the soldiers had partaken of since they left our camp at 11 p.m. on the 24th; thus they had been 36 hours without any regular food. Elephants were sent out from camp to bring in our wounded and footsore men, but one only of these useful animals was required to assist 7 of our men who had been injured by an explosion. The Regiment reached our camp about 4 p.m. on the 26th August, after an absence of 41 hours, during which time our men had only partaken of one meal."

On the 4th of September, our siege-train having arrived in camp, preparations for the assault of the city were commenced with vigour. On the night of the 7th the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were employed in front of the Cashmere Bastion, breaking ground for the breaching batteries. It was anticipated that our working-

1857. parties would be called upon to drive in the enemy's pickets, but it was found that they had all been previously withdrawn. Our first battery was about 300 yards from the Cashmere Gate, and we had run up a breastwork affording sufficient protection to our working-parties before the enemy opened fire, although we were near enough to hear them talking in the Bastion before we commenced our work.

On the night of the 9th September the 1st Fusiliers were employed in making the breaching-batteries in front of the "Water Bastion," the enemy keeping up a heavy fire all night, and shelling us from their batteries in "Selim Ghur;" but only two men of the Regiment were wounded.

On the morning of the 11th our batteries opened fire, but soon afterwards a troop of the enemy's Cavalry, consisting of about 100 men (Ghazis)—who had probably sworn to die or drive us from our advanced position—were seen suddenly to emerge from the "Subzi Mundi," and make a bold dash at our right breaching-battery; but when within eighty yards they were received with a salvo of grape from our guns which mowed them down like grass. As the smoke cleared off there were but a few who had not fallen, and they quickly turned and fled.

The enemy now appeared to be fully roused to a sense of their impending danger, fighting with increased earnestness and determination; they at this time commenced to make counter-trenches and rifle-pits, repairing during the night the breaches effected by our guns during the day, mounting more guns and constructing additional batteries between the "Moree" Bastion and the Cashmere Gate; but before these could be completed our assault was to be delivered.

September 12th, 1857.

On the 13th of September arrangements for the assault, as recommended by a Council of War, were approved of by General Archdale Wilson, and ordered to be carried into effect.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers, which had left Dugshai 800 strong, were now reduced to scarcely more than one-half; about 400 only

being available for the contemplated assault. A like diminution 1857.
of strength had taken place in other Regiments, so that the force at the disposal of the General consisted only of about 1700 Europeans and 1900 Natives, of whom about 1300 were Seiks and the remainder Ghoorkalis. Thus General Wilson had only about 3600 thoroughly reliable troops for the assault, besides 850 of the Maharaja Golab Sing's soldiers, many of whom had not been disciplined or used to war.

The Army was divided for the attack into five Columns, the First, commanded by Brigadier-General Nicholson, consisted of—

	Rank and File.
1st Bengal Fusiliers	250
H.M. 75th Regiment	300
2nd Punjab Infantry	450

This Column was ordered "to storm the breach near the Cash-" "mere Bastion, and escalade the face of the Bastion." General Nicholson, having been appointed to command the advance storming-party, assembled the Commandants and seconds in command of his troops, and explained to them in detail how they were to act as soon as they had escaladed the walls; ending his instructions with the following words: "Don't press the enemy" "too hard; let them have a golden bridge to retire by."

The Second Column was placed under the command of Brigadier Jones, C.B., and consisted of—

	Rank and File.
2nd Bengal Fusiliers	250
H.M. 8th Regiment	250
4th Seik Infantry	350

This Column was "to storm the breach in the "Water" "Bastion."

The Third Column, commanded by Colonel Campbell, H.M. 52nd, consisted of—

1857.

	Rank and File.
H.M. 52nd Regiment	200
Kumaon Battalion	250
1st Punjab Infantry	500

This Column was to be held in readiness "to assault by the" "Cashmere Gate after its explosion by the Engineers should have" "taken place."

The Fourth Column, commanded by Major Reid of the Sirmoor Battalion, consisted of a detachment of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers (150 men), detachments of H.M. 60th and 61st, together with the "Guides Infantry" and the "Sirmoor Battalion," and about 800 of the Jummoo troops (Golab Sing's). This Column was ordered to clear the gardens and blocks of buildings "at" "Paharunpore and Kishengunge, and to enter the city by the" "Lahore Gate."

The Fifth Column, commanded by Brigadier Longfield, consisted of—

	Rank and File.
H.M. 60th Rifles	200
H.M. 61st Regiment	250
4th Punjab Infantry	400
Belooch Battalion	300

This column formed "the Reserve."

On the 14th September the Headquarters of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers marched from the camp at 3 a.m., having been selected by Brigadier-General Nicholson to lead the first assaulting-column in the attack on Delhie. It is to be regretted that some unexpected delay took place, the engineers reporting that during the night the breaches must be cleared by our heavy guns before the assault, and it was not until some time after sunrise that the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under Major Jacob, advanced; his Adjutant, Lieutenant Wemyss, being beside him. On reaching "Ludlow" "Castle" the scaling-ladders were brought to the front; Nos. 1

and 2 Companies of the Regiment forming the first escalading- 1857.
party, under Lieutenant G. N. Money.* Nicholson, before advancing to the assault, had separated his storming Column into two Divisions; the 1st Bengal Fusiliers forming the first; H.M. 75th, the second.

On emerging into the open, a terrific fire was poured on the escaladers, who, with a cheer, ran forward at the double, followed
September 14th, 1857. closely by the rest of the Regiment. On nearing the Cashmere Bastion, it was seen that the ditch was so filled with fallen masonry, that our men were enabled to glide down the incline, and plant the escalading ladders with such rapidity that the top of the ramparts was quickly reached amidst a storm of bullets, and missiles, hurled down from the walls above. Notwithstanding this opposition, the ramparts were gained before the Mutineers had collected their forces in sufficient numbers to make a very determined resistance; and thus a firm footing was obtained on the breach before any attempt had been made to blow open the Cashmere gate. By this time the 75th Regiment had scaled the walls, forced the breach—Nicholson's two Divisions having joined—the battle for the mastery on the ramparts raged with fierce fury. Our men, though vastly out-numbered, fought with uncontrolled vehemence, striking down the mutineers with their clubbed muskets where they could not succeed in thrusting home their bayonets. The dense masses of the Sepahis now crowding to the front could not withstand the eager onslaught of our men,
September 14th, 1857. who for nearly three months had been thirsting for this day of retribution. This was not the usual excitement of battle, it was the individual burning lust of revenge for the atrocities committed by the Mutineers, and it is hardly possible to realize the intensity of passion that animated every British heart that day. There were volunteers in our ranks, Conductors, and Non-commissioned Staff who had lost all that had made life most dear; and these men dealt death around

* Now in H.M. Body Guard.

1857 at every stroke, crying aloud, above the din of war, "Where is my wife?" "Where are my poor children?"* It was a just Almighty retribution, beyond the influence or control of man.

Brigadier-General Nicholson now gave instructions to his Commanders to push forward, storm, and occupy the Church, as well as the adjacent buildings; all of which were held in strong force by the enemy. Nicholson led the 1st Division against the Church, which, after a gallant assault, was captured at the point of the bayonet; the 2nd Division at the same time succeeding in possessing itself of many of the buildings in the vicinity of the "Main Guard" and the Church. These important positions having been secured, and small parties left in possession, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and H.M. 75th assembled at the "Main Guard," when orders were issued for the troops to push on in the direction of the Lahore Gate.

September 14th, 1857.

In the meantime Lieutenant G. Money, who, before the assault had received his Commanding Officer's orders to push along the walls to his right as soon as he got inside, proceeded to execute these instructions. As soon as the Cashmere Battery had been cleared he turned to the right along the lane below the ramparts, accompanied by Sergeant-Major Holford and some of the men of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Companies. Money supposed that the main Column under Jacob was following; but, as just stated, it had gone forward as soon as it escaladed the walls to storm the Church. Money's party, therefore, was unsupported.

After having proceeded a short distance down the lane—between the houses and the ramparts—our detachment came to a slope leading up to the ramparts; which Money, followed by Holford and a number of his men, ascended. The ramparts being defended by the Mutineers, there was hard fighting as the party pushed forward, and they, having proceeded about half-way to the Moree Bastion, saw a 12-pounder gun in front worked by the enemy. This gun was quickly turned towards the advancing

* An Officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers writes, "I saw this myself."

party, and rapidly loaded with grape; and it now became a race between the gunners and the Fusiliers as to whether the latter could reach the gun before the former could load and fire. 1857.

When within a few yards of the muzzle, the gunners leapt aside, and the port-fire was applied; the priming flashed, but the gun was dumb. It now appeared that in their panic and confusion the enemy had neglected to prick the cartridge, so that it did not ignite.

Expecting that the attacking party would be blown away, the Sepahis had stood their ground; but in a couple of seconds we were upon them, not one escaping. The Moree Bastion was soon reached, and it was found full of men busily working their guns, their whole attention fixed on our breaching batteries outside.

September 14th, 1857.

The gunners were all "Golundazes," armed with swords only, who, surprised at our sudden entry, jumped in numbers through the embrasures and escaped, whilst others turned and attacked the assailants, sword in hand. One stalwart fellow rushed on Lieutenant Money, slashing at him so fast right and left that he had great difficulty in defending himself with his light regulation sword, when Private Patrick Flynn, No. 3 Company, came to his Officer's assistance, rushing at the gunner with his musket at the charge. The Mutineer jumped aside and evaded the thrust, and, at the same time catching the musket under his left arm, aimed a blow at Flynn's head; but the latter's impetus had been so great that the two men appeared locked in each other's arms, so that the hilt of the mutineer's sword came on Flyn's head; who, half stunned, dropped his musket, and at the same time slightly falling back, gave his enemy a straight hit between the eyes which sent him head over heels; and before he could recover himself Money ran his sword through him. In a short time the bastion was ours; but the Artillery working in our No. 1 Siege Battery on the plain outside, being in ignorance of what had taken place above, still poured salvos of grape on the Moree Bastion, con-

1857. tinuing until our signals were understood, when the Artillerymen outside mounting the parapets, gave a ringing cheer of recognition.

Immediately below the Moree Bastion, on the plain in front of our Siege Batteries, the enemy had cut trenches and rifle-pits, which were filled with their men, who, startled by the behaviour of our Artillerymen to their front, now for the first time realised what had taken place above. For a few seconds they stood stupified, not knowing how to act, whilst we turned upon them one of their own guns, which caused them to leap from their trenches; and, as they bolted across the open plain, they had to run the gauntlet between their own guns above and ours below.

September 14th, 1857.

By this time it became evident that the main Column had not followed in support, and Money was hardly pressed; when, fortunately, a party of the 9th Lancers appeared below, the Officer in command asking how things were going on. On learning that we had some difficulty in holding our own, he dismounted some dozen of his men who had been instructed in gunnery, and they, clambering up into the battery, took charge of the guns. Fortunately there was a breastwork in rear of the Moree Bastion with one embrasure, in which we placed a brass 6-pounder gun. Two or three determined attacks were made by the enemy to regain their lost position, charging up close to the muzzle of this gun, and wounding two of our Lancer gunners. Matters were now looking serious; for the numbers of the enemy in front of our breastwork increased, whilst ours, in defence, diminished.

Colonel Greathead (commanding H.M. 8th Foot) now arrived with some of his own men, part of the 75th, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and Punjab Infantry. Almost immediately afterwards, the Headquarters of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under Major Jacob, arrived; having been delayed whilst re-capturing some of the buildings close inside the Cashmere Gate.

Our Regiment now pushed on towards the Lahore Gate, to

reach which we had to force a passage through a narrow defile running parallel with, and immediately below, the rampart. It was whilst the Regiment was advancing towards this defile that Major George Jacob fell mortally wounded. "He, poor fellow, was shot in the thigh, and died that night." "As he lay writhing in his agony on the ground, unable to" "stand, two or three men went to take him to the rear, but a" "sense of duty was superior to bodily pain, and he refused their" "aid, desiring them to go on and take the guns!"*

1857. September 14th, 1857.

As soon as Jacob fell, Captain Greville, the next senior Officer who was close at hand, assumed command of the Regiment.

In addition to the many guns on the ramparts there were three placed by the enemy to sweep the defile; one of these was on the rampart immediately above, one below at the entrance to the defile, and the third also on the rampart above, but about 100 yards in rear. This last gun was protected by an iron bullet-proof screen, from behind which the enemy fired with impunity on the approaching Column, a heavy fire being also kept up from the gun above and that at the entrance of the defile. A portion of the Regiment was above on the ramparts, and a portion below, Greville with the latter.

On pressed the men, driving back the enemy before them; and the guns referred to were soon reached. Greville now called out to the party above to "Spike the guns!" There was a moment's hesitation; when Colour-Sergeant Jordan ran forward, followed by Corporal Keefe (No. 3), Privates Bradley and L. Murphy. Jordan spiked the gun with Corporal Keefe's ramrod, which he snapped off in the vent, passing the broken portion to Captain Greville, who, rushing forward, spiked the gun below. Corporal Keefe, Privates Bradley and L. Murphy, were all killed in assisting Colour-Sergeant Jordan to spike the gun, round which "the bullets fell like hail."

September 14th, 1857.

* Extract from a letter written by an Officer of the Regiment who witnessed the occurrence.

1857. It was now seen that the houses on the city side of the defile as well as the flat roofs above, were occupied by crowds of men, who poured on our troops a murderous fire from the windows, loopholes, and housetops; whilst the gun behind the iron screen on the ramparts swept the passage with rapid discharges of shrapnell and grape. The defile was at most only about 12 feet wide, projecting buttresses and towers narrowing it in some places to 3 feet; whilst at the end of the Pass was the "Burn Bastion," bristling with heavy guns and filled with the enemy's Gunners and Infantry. Greville deemed it advisable to break into the houses, and thus attempt to take the enemy in rear and flank; but it was ordered otherwise, Nicholson calling out to the Fusiliers to "Charge down the lane! The 75th will charge" "along the ramparts and carry the position above."

Our Officers and men now pushed forward towards the Burn Bastion, which Lieutenants Butler and Speke and about a dozen soldiers attempted to climb; but finding it closed at the gorge, and loopholed inwards, they could not ascend more than a few feet. Butler, being convinced of the fruitlessness of the attempt, ordered his men to drop down and protect themselves, intending to follow; but he found that he was pinned in between two bayonets, which had been thrust at him through the loopholes, on either side. Whilst in this position he received a blow on his head from a stone cast at him from above, felling him to the ground; but, recovering himself, he quickly fired his revolver through the loopholes, and escaped from under the Bastion before the enemy could recover himself.

General Nicholson, now in front, shook his sword in defiance
September 14th, at the multitude of the enemy around, who, with shouts
1857. and yells, poured grape, bullets, and stones on the party below. Nicholson, "our best and bravest," was struck down mortally wounded; Speke, "gentle everywhere but in the" "field," also fell mortally wounded; and Greville, in re-forming the Regiment, was shot through the right shoulder.

Captain Caulfield (doing duty), Lieutenants Wemyss, Butler, 1857.
and Woodcock, all fell at this time; as well as a large proportion of the rank and file. Captain Stafford (doing duty) now assumed command. The attempt to force the pass was evidently hopeless; the men were utterly exhausted, having been twelve hours under arms, engaged in a desperate conflict, parched with thirst and faint from want of food. Captain W. Brooks, of H.M. 75th Regiment, having, by seniority, assumed command of the Column, ordered the troops to retire on the Cabul gate. Brooks says, in his dispatch, "Finding that each effort only caused" "further loss, without success, I formally drew off my men" "and retired to the Cabul gate," and in his dispatch of the 7th February, 1858, he says, "The 1st European Bengal Fusi-" "liers, which had been led to the escalade of the left face of the" "Cashmere Bastion by the late Brigadier-General Nicholson," "after effecting an entrance into the town, stormed the Church" "and adjacent buildings, and charged the enemy as they" "retreated from the Water Bastion; we then moved on in" "pursuit of the enemy, Major Jacob being wounded immediately" "on our quitting the Cabul gate. The command of that Regi-" "ment then devolved upon Captain Greville, a gallant Officer," "who has served with it on many a hardly-contested field, and on" "this occasion was at its head when the Regiment captured two" "guns. I am most desirous the good and gallant services ren-" "dered by Captain Greville should be duly acknowledged." *

Considering the fearful loss sustained, and the hopelessness of the attempt to force the passage, which was closed at the further end, Captain Brooke's order for the retirement of the Bengal European Fusiliers to the Cabul Gate, before there was further
September 14th, 1857. sacrifice of life, was, under the circumstances, not only justifiable, but was well-judged and right. The passage of this lane should never have been attempted. "And if the" "operation of turning out the Sepahis had been left to the"

* Delhie dispatches.

1857. "1st Fusiliers and the 75th, we should have cleared the ram- "
"parts and lane without loss; instead of rushing at them, we "
"should have entered the houses and got in the enemy's rear."*

During the fighting on the 14th September Sergeant J. M'Guire and Drummer M. Ryan, of the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers, gained Victoria Crosses for conspicuous gallantry; having, "at the assault on Delhie, when the Brigade had reached the " "Cabul Gate, the 1st Fusiliers and 75th Regiment and some " "Seiks were waiting for orders, and some of the Regiments " "were getting ammunition served out (three boxes of which " "exploded from some cause not clearly known, and two others " "were in a state of ignition) when Sergeant M'Guire and " "Drummer Ryan rushed into the burning mass, and seizing the " "boxes, threw them one after the other over the parapet into " "the water. The confusion consequent upon the explosion was " "very great, and the crowd of soldiers and Native followers who " "did not know where the danger lay were rushing into certain " "destruction, when Sergeant M'Guire and Drummer Ryan, by " "their coolness and personal daring, saved the lives of many at " "the risk of their own." †

The second Column, under Brigadier Jones, with which was the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, under Captain Boyd, were told off to escalade the left breach in the Cashmere curtain close to the Water Bastion, and the supporting party, taking ground to the right, gained the ramparts without any great opposition; but the ladder-men, principally of the 8th Foot, having to make a slight *détour* in the open, were exposed to a galling fire from above, which wounded both the Engineer Officers directing the movements, and struck to the ground twenty-nine of the thirty-nine ladder-party. Notwithstanding this loss the ladders were successfully placed, and the Water-Gate Bastion carried. On reaching the summit, the Column tore along the

September 14th, 1857.

* Extract from a letter from one of the Officers in command.

† "The Victoria Cross, an Official Chronicle."

rampart to their right, some joining Money's party at the Moree 1857
Bastion, whilst others fought their way as far as the Cabul Gate, on the top of which the Column flag was planted.* Nicholson, "who had diverged from the intended line of advance, to" "suppress a brisk fire of musketry from some houses near" "at hand,"† now coming up, joined Jones' Column. Jones' orders were to remain at the Cabul Gate until intelligence of the fall of the Jumma Musjid should reach him; he, therefore, had collected his men together, "commanding the approaches, and" "awaiting the signal to advance;" but as the Jumma Musjid was not captured during the 14th September, Jones' Column was principally employed in defending the positions which had been gained.

The third Column was told off to enter the City by the Cashmere Gate, after it should have been blown open by the Engineers. In attempting to perform this hazardous duty, Lieutenant Salkeld, of the Engineers, commanding, and Sergeants Burgess and Carmichael, gave their lives; the Gate being finally shattered by Sergeant Smith. Afterwards the 3rd Column entered, and rushing forward into the heart of the City, fought its way through the Chandnee Chouk; and, seizing the Kotwallee, attempted to push forward to the Jumma Musjid; but the resistance was so stubborn, and the fire so tremendous, that the Column was ordered to return to the Church, where it joined the reserve, which had by this time made its way into the City.

Our attention must now be directed to the 4th Column, under Major Reid, for with it was the Left Wing (about 150 men) of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under Captain C. R. Wriford. Reid had orders to take ground to the right, and, after having cleared the suburbs of Kissengunge, Trevelyangunge, and Paharunpore, to advance on the Lahore Gate, through which he was instructed to push his way into the City. With the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under

* Malleson, p. 36, Vol. II.
† Kaye, p. 596, Vol. III.

1857. Wriford, were the following Officers: Lieutenants E. A. C. Lambert, A. G. Owen and Charles Warner; and Captain McBarnet (55th N.I.) doing duty.

The 4th, or Major Reid's Column, was principally formed from the pickets occupying the "Crow's Nest," "Subzee Mundi," "The Mound," and "Fakir's Tomb" outposts. This was a faulty formation, as detached bodies of men are never so effective as an entire Regiment, and in this case specially so; as Reid's Column was called upon to attack a very formidable position, which the enemy had been vigorously strengthening for weeks past, and to reduce which a very much stronger force, with an efficient Artillery, was absolutely necessary.

The Cashmere Contingent (Golab Sing's), which was attached to the 4th Column, was separated into two Divisions: that under Major Lawrence, 800 strong, was employed as a Reserve to the 4th Column; that under Captain Dwyer, 400 strong, acted against the village of Eed Gah on the right, where it was early in the morning completely defeated, 4 of its guns being captured by the enemy.

Unfortunately some delay took place in the advance of the 4th Column, on account of the non-arrival of the Horse Artillery, who had mistaken their orders.

Reid was unwilling to advance without his guns; but heavy firing to his right—in the direction of the detachment of the Cashmere Column—convinced him that they had already engaged the enemy, and might want help; he therefore ordered a general advance, without waiting for his Artillery.

The 60th Rifles—second to none in the Army—and the Ghoorkahs were sent on in front to clear the ground for our advance; but there was no room to deploy, so they advanced along the road, where they soon found themselves opposed by a breastwork close to a narrow bridge, covered by a second breastwork some distance in front and traversing the road.

As our troops advanced, those leading, were shot down in such numbers that the road became cumbered by the heaps of our

dead and wounded. Reid now gave the order, "Fusiliers to the" 1857.
"front," and with a wild rush they charged across the bridge, unavoidably treading under-foot the wounded men who lay on the road. Reid led this charge, but soon fell badly wounded, and was carried to the rear; when Captain Muter, of the 60th Rifles, the Senior Officer in front,* assumed command. Captain Wriford, and many of the Officers in advance, were engaged in single combat with the Mutineers, who pelted our troops from behind their breastworks, with brickbats and other missiles; whilst our ranks were being rapidly thinned by the musketry fire poured upon us by the thousands of the enemy behind their barricades. Here McBarnett was shot dead, and Lieutenant Owen was severely
ptember 14th, wounded in the head, but was saved from falling under
1857. the tulwars of the enemy by Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert's protection, until the arrival of Corporal Kingon, who carried the wounded Officer to the rear. Here also fell Sergeant Dunleary, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers; whose distinguished bravery was favourably mentioned in the dispatches of the Commander of the Column.

Having carried the bridge and the barricade, the 1st Fusiliers pushed their way through a garden and a mosque; but the fire was still very heavy, and no cover was found under which the broken detachments could be formed up. To advance without Artillery was certain death to all; for the road leading to the Lahore Gate was defended by many thousands of Cavalry and Infantry. It was impossible to do otherwise than retire on our pickets; and although this course was, under the circumstances, judicious, the object for which the 4th Column had advanced had not been attained. Thus terminated this disastrous affair; in which the composite Column lost one-half its numbers. The impracticability of the undertaking with so small a force and without Artillery is admitted by all; and it would have been far

* Major Lawrence, serving with the Cashmere Contingent, was the next Senior Officer with the Column, and took command later on.

1857. better had the 4th Column been employed in making feint attacks and attracting the attention of the enemy, whilst the escaladers were employed against the breaches and walls of the City.

The retreat of the 4th Column was conducted with great difficulty, and with many risks. Lieutenant Evans, of the Bengal Artillery, who commanded some of our guns at the "Crow's Nest" picket, seeing the dangerous position in which the retreating Column was placed, judiciously brought his guns to bear on the enemy, who were pressing on us; and thus, covering our retreat, prevented what otherwise might have been a terrible disaster.*

September 14th, 1857.

The positions of the besieging Army on the 14th September was as follows: The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Columns had succeeded in gaining a footing inside the City; but they were with difficulty

* A monument, the epitaph on which was written, at Captain Wilford's request, by Dr. O'Callaghan, Surgeon-in-Chief of the besieging Artillery, Delhie (now Surgeon-General, retired), was erected at Kissengunge by the 1st Bengal Fusiliers:—

"HERE REPOSE THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND MEN OF THE 1ST BENGAL FUSILIERS, KILLED IN THE ATTACK ON THE ENEMY'S FORTIFIED POSITION OF KISSENGUNGE, ON THE MORNING OF THE SUCCESSFUL ASSAULT AND STORM OF DELHIE.

CAPTAIN G. G. MCBARNETT 55TH N. I. (ATTACHED).

SERGEANT	ALFRED WEBB.	PRIVATE	GEORGE W. COOK.
"	MICHAEL HUTCHINSON.	"	JOHN DEHENNY.
"	SAMUEL PIVET.	"	JOHN LAVERY.
"	AUSTIN DUNLEARY.	"	CHARLES FRENCH.
CORPORAL	CHARLES POGSON	"	WALTER HASTINGS.
"	THOMAS RODGERS.	"	WILLIAM STEPHENSON.
"	WILLIAM FISHER.	"	JOHN WOOD.
PRIVATE	JOHN TENPENNY.	"	JOHN MCGOVERN.
"	JAMES STACLETON.	"	ELIJAH TAYLOR.
"	DENIS MOONEY.		

FAMILIAR WITH THE ASPECT OF DEATH, WHOM THEY HAD CONFRONTED IN SO MANY BATTLES FROM WHICH THEY ALWAYS EMERGED VICTORIOUS, THEY MET HIS LAST INEVITABLE CALL HERE WITH INTREPIDITY, FALLING ON THE 14TH SEPTEMBER, 1857, IN THE FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF THEIR DUTY.

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY THEIR OFFICERS AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS OF THE 1ST REGIMENT EUROPEAN BENGAL FUSILIERS IN THEIR REMEMBRANCE, WHICH IS PART OF ITS GLORY.

THE REST REMAINS WITH THE LORD."

holding their own, whilst the Engineers were rapidly constructing 1857.
barricades and loopholing the houses. The 4th Column, terribly reduced in numbers, occupied our outposts in rear of Hindu Rao's house.

General Archdale Wilson, in Chief Command, disappointed and shaken at what he deemed to have been a failure, wished to withdraw from the attack; but, before issuing orders, consulted with Colonel Baird Smith, his Chief-Engineer, and Neville Chamberlain his Adjutant-General.

Baird Smith's reply to his Chief's question "whether he" thought we could advance," was characteristic of the man. "We" *must* do so." Neville Chamberlain's opinion was not less firm. "To hold at any cost the positions taken, to fortify them, and to" make them the base of a fresh attack at the earliest moment." *

The 15th of September was comparatively a day of rest, and towards evening the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were moved into some
September, 15th, 1857. of the houses, which had been placed in a semi-defensible condition by our Engineers, detachments of the Regiment being placed on the ramparts between the "Moree" Bastion and the Cabul Gate; the former being now held by a party of our men under Lieutenant Money.

About this time a serious casualty occurred, which must here be noticed. Six Sergeants and six Orderlies of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers were in a small brick room, where the daily rations were being served out to the men. There was only one small window, facing towards the enemy, who were at this time firing on the building. Suddenly a shell was seen to lodge on the window-sill, and, falling into the room, it immediately exploded, nine out of the twelve men being killed; Colour and Canteen-Sergeant London, one of the best Non-Commissioned Officers in the Regiment, amongst them.

On the 16th a forward movement was made; when Colonel Burn, who had been appointed to the command of the 1st European

* Malleson's "History of the Indian Mutiny." Vol. II., p. 57.

1857. Bengal Fusiliers, with whom were Lieutenants Cairnes and Vibart (doing duty), occupied a large house about a quarter of a mile in advance. The Headquarters of the Regiment came up next day, leaving only a small party under Lieutenant Money at the Morce Bastion.

During the 18th and 19th there was constant fighting and skirmishing, when some decided advantages were gained. Lieutenant Wallace with 20 men occupied a house further in advance, in the direction of the Burn Bastion, and Lieutenant Vibart with a like number of men succeeded in possessing himself of an important position; and these advantages having been gained by sapping, our loss was small. On the 19th September the Burn Bastion was captured, and on the 20th the Headquarters of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers advanced to the Lahore gate, which the enemy had now deserted.

In the meantime Colonel Brind, with the 8th Foot and 1st Bengal Fusiliers, had occupied the Jumma Musjid, and the enemy was rapidly evacuating the city, which was finally captured on the 20th. On the 23rd the Left Wing of the Regiment, now only about 80 strong, under Lieutenant E. A. C. Lambert, marched through the Lahore gate, and joined the Headquarters, which occupied a large house near the Delhie gate. On this day Lieutenant Cairnes, who had taken a foremost part in the siege, and who, by his courage and example, had done admirable service, was seized with Cholera, to which he succumbed in a few hours. His death was a sad blow; he was popular with the Officers and a favourite amongst the men.

September 20th—22nd, 1857.

September 23rd, 1857.

But an incident full of interest savouring of romance—an incident which materially affected the future—was at this time occurring; the prime mover and instigator being an Officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

Lieutenant W. S. Hodson—called by his brother Officers "the" "Indefatigable"—in addition to his duties as Head of the Intelligence Department, commanded a Cavalry Regiment, commonly

known as "Hodson's Horse;" the troopers, Seiks—wild-looking, determined men, clothed in dark-blue with enormous scarlet turbans and sashes—venerated Hodson; who was a Commander after their own hearts, and whose word to them was supreme. 1857.

Information reached Hodson that the Emperor, with his two sons and grandson, had taken refuge in the Mausoleum of Hoomayon, which, with its surrounding buildings, forms an important suburb of Delhie. This tomb, built of richly-carved pure white marble, covers a vast extent of ground, and is exquisitely and wonderfully truthful in its proportions; its dome and minarets, of the same material, towering above in graceful beauty.

September 20th, 1857.

Hodson, without delay, obtained the permission of the General in Command to seize the King; the sole condition attached to this permission being that His Majesty was to receive no personal injury or insult.

Delighted with the almost plenary powers conferred upon him, Hodson, having selected a few of his troopers, galloped off in the direction of Hoomayon's tomb. The place was crowded with soldiers, followers of the fallen King; so Hodson, unwilling to suddenly alarm the crowd, concealed his men amongst some buildings close at hand, and sent a message to the King informing him that he must surrender, for our troops were waiting to receive him. Terrified at the aspect of affairs, the King submitted, on the sole condition that "Hodson Bahadour" would spare his life. Hodson, supported by a few of his troopers, soon appeared before the entrance of the tomb. The Royal Guards on duty at the gate approached; Hodson, too, advanced, and drawing his cigar-box from his pocket, ordered the King's sentry to fetch a light. Half-stupefied and overawed, the man obeyed; the escort watching with pride the *sang-froid* of their leader. Now the Emperor Bahadour Shah, the last representative "of a dynasty" "the most magnificent the world had ever seen,"* came slowly

* Kaye, Vol. III.

1857. towards the gate, borne in his palanquin. Hodson, approaching, saluted his Royal prisoner, and again assuring him that his life was secured, the King moved on, guarded by Hodson's men, who, entering the Imperial City by the Lahore Gate, passed along the Chandnee Chouk to the Kotwallee, where the King was handed over to the Principal Civil Officer for safe custody.

No promises of safety had been made to the Royal Princes,* who still remained concealed in Hoomayon's tomb, and who, the next morning, September 21st, were ordered to be unearthed. Hodson, this time, with his second in command, Lieutenant MacDowell, and 100 picked troopers, again proceeded to the tomb. The Princes begged the promise of their lives, but Hodson replied that he "had come to seize the Shahzadahs, and" "he intended to do so, dead or alive." The prisoners, who now surrendered at discretion, were placed in a cart, and the *cortege* moved on towards the city. There were still some 6000 servants and followers of the Royal Household in the enclosure of this marble tomb, but none had had the courage to draw sword to rescue their King from imprisonment, or his sons from death. The crowd pushed rudely forward, when Hodson, with Macdowell by his side, and four troopers only at his back, ordered them to lay down their arms. Instinctively they submitted; there seeming to be a magic in Hodson's commanding figure and address. At his bidding the crowd all laid down their arms; they knew there had been treachery in their camp, and that their only hope of safety lay in submission to the man whose look was proof that he meant to be obeyed.

September 21st, 1857.

The collection of the ceded arms was left to Hodson's troopers, he riding after the Princes, who had by this time neared the jail, where the surging crowd, including many escaped convicts, was pressing on the carts and escort. Dashing forward and haranguing his troopers, in a voice which he intended to be heard by all, Hodson exclaimed that the prisoners "were the butchers who"

* Mirzá Khaza, Sultan Mirza, and Mirza Abu Bhr.

"had murdered our wives and children," and that they should 1857.
suffer for their crime. He then ordered the procession to stand still, the Princes to dismount and strip; when, seizing a carbine from the hand of one of his troopers, he shot his Royal prisoners dead with his own hand.

This act of Hodson's has been severely challenged. He was a man who had risen early into power; and there were those who were jealous of his rapid rise; further, we should not, in times of peace, judge of those who swim in blood; and, lastly, Hodson asserts it to have been his belief that, had he not deprived the Princes of their lives, the rebellious crowd which surged around would have rescued them, and the Mutineers would thus still have their leaders to urge them on to further deeds of bloodshed and resistance. Rightly or wrongly, Hodson believed these Princes to have been the instigators of the sickening murders of those helpless wives and daughters who were within the walls of Delhie at the time of the outbreak; the revolting incidents of these massacres causing all brave men's blood to boil with horror and disgust. Hodson deemed it right that the bodies of the perpetrators of such foul crimes should fester on the road in front of the Kotwallee, where, a few months previous, they had gloated over scenes too sickening to contemplate, and too revolting to detail.

In so prominently referring to the incidents connected with the death of these Princes, it is just that we should, in conclusion, quote Hodson's own words: "I cannot help," he says, "being" "pleased at the warm congratulations I receive on all sides for" "my success in destroying the enemies of our race. I am too" "conscious of the rectitude of my own motives to care what the" "few may say, while my own conscience and the voice of the" "many pronounce me right."

The following is an extract from a letter dated September 18th, 1857, from an Officer of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers before Delhie,

1857. to his wounded comrade with the Depôt at Dugshai, giving an interesting account of our disabled Officers:—

"In our Regiment, McBarnett, attached (55th Native In-" "fantry), killed. Our poor Major (Jacob), thigh broken, leg" "amputated, and died about 10 o'clock at night on the 14th," "and was buried yesterday evening. All who were in camp" "followed. It is a great loss to our Regiment, and is much felt" "by both Officers and men; a better soldier never stepped." "Poor Greville is hit again—the third time—through the" "shoulder; a bad wound, but the doctor thinks he will do well." "He is much cut up at Jacob's death. Then Wemyss is hit in" "the calf of the leg; but it is only a flesh-wound. Speke is" "wounded in the body—ball not found; a bad wound, but the" "doctor is in hopes of his doing well (since dead). Owen" "wounded across the whole of the right side of the head, the" "skull laid bare; and hit just over the left eye by another" "bullet. Lambert is slightly wounded in the leg by splinters." "Poor Sergeant London was killed yesterday by a shell burst-" "ing in the midst of sixteen men, and it killed and wounded" "fourteen of the party. I believe there is only six file of your" "Company left. No. 10 Company had 6 killed and 15 wounded" "at Kissengunge. I really do not think we shall be more than" "100 or 150 strong after we come out of Delhie. Our fellows" "saw lots of women and children in the streets when they went" "in, and I am happy to say not one of our men fired a shot at" "them. A great many of them ran up to us."

Immediately after the fall of Delhie, the sick and wounded of the 1st Bengal European Regiment were sent to the Regimental Depôt at Dugshai.

Colour-Sergeant Hardy, No. 4 Company, was promoted to the rank of Ensign, for distinguished gallantry in the field.

But before closing the narrative of the Siege of Delhie, a well-deserved tribute must be paid to the memory of the dead.

The following is from the pen of an Officer of the Regiment:— 1857.

" " Captain Speke* was devotedly fond of his profession, more "
" particularly that which calls forth the active energies; and "
" for a fight there was no better man than Speke, and his hardy, "
" wiry frame fitted him for the hardships of such a campaign. "
" He entirely gained the hearts of the men of his Company, by "
" carrying in one of the wounded men, Private Brock, who had "
" his leg shattered by a round-shot; and the poor fellow, I am "
" told, said to the Doctor, after he had been under the knife, "
" 'Oh, doctor, if I die, tell Captain Speke how much I felt his' "
" 'kindness.' Yes, these are indeed the acts which bind men "
" and Officers as one, and make them invincible in fight. In "
" all our fights Speke had his share, escaping unhurt till the "
" last. Strange to say, he had almost no pain, and maintained "
" his mental powers, though his wound was very severe. "
" Firmly, yet humbly, did he depart this life, deeply lamented "
" by all who knew him."

Then last, but by no means least, was Major G. O. Jacob, who died commanding his Regiment almost in the hour of victory; and whose kindly, generous, considerate nature was shown in death as in life. He and Greville occupied the same tent, in which they both lay wounded; but Jacob's fear lest his involuntary groans should disturb his wounded comrade and friend, seemed to occupy all his thoughts. "I know you are badly wounded and in " " pain," said he, "but pray pardon my groaning. I try not to " " disturb you, but I cannot help it." Greville, utterly exhausted from fatigue and loss of blood, slept for half-an-hour; when, waking suddenly, he saw the sheet drawn over the face of his dead comrade, whose last words had been in perfect harmony with the whole tenor of his life, shown in his never-failing courtesy and consideration for others. George Ogle Jacob was

* Captain Edward Speke, 65th Regiment N.I., doing duty with the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers.

1857. brave and chivalrous in battle, respected by all, and most loved by those who knew him best.

But, having paid a well-deserved tribute to the memory of those who, dying, added lustre to the annals of the Regiment, it is right that prominent reference should be made to the services of Dr. J. P. Brougham—the Surgeon-Major of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers—whose tender care and unremitting attentions conduced so much to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded. Dr. Brougham won the esteem, thanks, and goodwill of his Commanders, brother Officers, and the rank and file of his Regiment, so many of whom had been under his care in the field hospital before Delhie.*

* See Appendix G.

CHAPTER XIX.

State of the Country after the Capture of Delhie — 1st Bengal Fusiliers form part of Colonel Gerrard's Flying Brigade—Battle of Narnoul—Colonel Gerrard's Death—The Regiment returns to Delhie—Sir Thomas Seaton Appointed to Command the Flying Brigade—Advance towards Lucknow—Battle of Gungehri — Action at Puttialee — Capture of Mynpoorie — Lieutenant Hodson opens Communication with the Commander-in-Chief's Camp —The 1st Bengal Fusiliers join the Commander-in-Chief's Army—Affairs at Lucknow whilst the Siege of Delhie was progressing—Affairs at Cawnpore under Windham—Arrival of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers at Cawnpore—Advance on Lucknow—Attack on the British Camp at Lucknow—Sir Colin Campbell in Command at Lucknow — Preparations for the Siege of the City — The 1st Bengal Fusiliers attached to General Outram's Brigade—Outram's Brigade Enfilade the Enemy's Batteries — Capture of the "Yellow House"— Lieutenant Thomas Butler, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, Captures the Enemy's Line of Batteries—Sir Colin Campbell Storms the City of Lucknow — Hodson's Death — Outram's Brigade cross the Gumti — Capture of the Residency—1st Bengal Fusiliers with Sir Hope Grant's Force—Action at Baree—Enemy Repulsed from an Island on the River Gogra—Action at Sahadit Gunge—Return to Dugshai.

ALTHOUGH the neck of the Mutiny had been broken by the capture of Delhie, there was still rough work in store for our troops. Tens of thousands of the rebel Sepahis, many of whom had escaped from Delhie, now spread over the country; establishing a complete reign of terror throughout the land. A vast empire had to be reduced to submission, murderers and mutineers to be punished, and the authority of the British, not only vindicated, but restored.

As has been previously pointed out, the ryots—the cultivators of the soil—mechanics, artizans, tradesmen, in short, all who had a stake in the prosperity of the country, all who valued life and

1857. protection of property, had not been inimical to our rule; and now these men unceasingly implored that our troops might be sent into their districts to convert the existing chaos into its previous order, and drive out the hordes of the mutinous Sepahis, who were perpetrating the vilest crimes unchecked, and inflicting the most odious tortures on the villagers, with the object of extracting money and forcing supplies.

Immediately after the capture of Delhie Colonel Gerrard, who had first joined the Bengal European Regiment in 1825, was appointed to its command; and, as he was an Officer both respected and beloved, his return was a matter of much congratulation and joy.

On the 9th November the Regiment was ordered to encamp outside the Cashmere Gate of the city, and to be in readiness to march the next morning in a westerly direction against several strongholds occupied by the Mutineers. The 2nd Bengal Fusiliers had already marched, forming part of a force under Brigadier Showers, who had proceeded towards the Maywatta District, to the south and west of Delhie; where they had been doing good service in reducing some Forts, and relieving many villages which were oppressed by the rebels; and re-establishing order in our provinces.

On the morning of the 10th of November the 1st Bengal Fusiliers left Delhie, our Colonel, Gerrard, having been appointed to command the force, consisting of about 2500 men; the 1st Fusiliers; two squadrons of the Carabineers; a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery; an Eurasian Battery, commanded by Colonel Van Cortlandt; the 'Seik Guides' Corps, Cavalry, and Infantry; the Mooltanie Horse; and some Seik Infantry Regiments, forming the Brigade.

The only important action fought by this Brigade was on the 16th November, near the town of Narnoul. We left our camp at one a.m. in light marching order, all sickly men and heavy baggage having been placed in the Fort at Kanoudj—a somewhat

formidable stronghold, protected by three lines of outer defences. 1857.
The capture of this Fort might have given us some trouble, had it not surrendered to Showers' Brigade previous to our arrival.

The advance of Gerrard's force was conducted with much difficulty in account of the sandy nature of the soil, some ten hours being occupied in covering twelve miles of road. The sun was very oppressive, and the sand and dust, being blown about by a strong wind, trying. The enemy in considerable force were known to be near at hand; indeed, on the previous day—November 15th—they had held a position of great strength close by, and why they had elected to accept battle on the open plain whilst they had good cover was a marvel to all. The village of "Narnoul"* was soon reached, when heavy clouds of dust
November 16th, 1857. indicated the position of the enemy, now seen approaching on our left front. The British troops prepared for action; the centre of the first line being occupied by the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, immediately in front of which was our Brigadier, too conspicuous amongst the Staff by his red coat and orders. The fight, as usual, commenced with an Artillery duel, succeeded by the rapid advance of our Cavalry, the Carabineers and Guides making a gallant charge; but the enemy, nothing daunted, had also advanced and many hand-to-hand conflicts ensued. A most determined onset was made by the Carabineers on the enemy's Field Artillery; when the gunners, keeping boldly to their posts, were sabred to a man, and the Carabineers continuing their onward movement encountered the enemy's Cavalry, hastening to the assistance of their gunners.

No sooner had our Cavalry ridden through the enemy's
November 16th, 1857. Batteries than their Infantry were seen advancing from the left flank; when, re-taking their guns, which had not been spiked, they sent a few rounds of grape amongst our Infantry, wounding Lieutenant Wallace and 3 of our men, and killing a private soldier named Griffin. The Bengal Fusiliers

* The Fort of "Narnoul" was reduced during the Maratha War, in 1808.

1857. quickly charged the battery, re-taking the guns, which they spiked. The whole British force now advanced; and the fight, which had hitherto been principally sustained by the Cavalry, became general. Our Horse Artillery, pushing to the front, poured round-shot, grape, and shrapnell amongst the enemy, forcing him to seek shelter behind the walls of the gardens and broken ground to our left, under cover of which he was attempting to retreat towards his camp. As our force advanced, it was seen that the unevenness of the ground was caused by a stream which cut through the gardens, the banks being covered with brushwood and trees.

Colonel Gerrard, in front, was a conspicuous object, seated on his white charger. His Brigade-Major, Lieutenant G. N. Money, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, whose horse had just been shot under him, was by Gerrard's side. At this moment two shots were fired from amongst the brushwood in the nullah, one passing close to Money's head, who, thinking the man who had fired belonged to one of the Seik Regiments close by, called out, "Look out where" "you're firing! you nearly hit us." Almost immediately afterwards two more shots were fired from the same place, and Colonel Gerrard, turning round, said, "I've got it; I'm afraid I'm done" "for." Both his arms were hanging helpless by his side. Money quickly approaching helped him off his horse to a bank close by; and as he sat down he looked at his side, and said, "It's gone" "clean through me. I'm afraid I'm done for." Money, mounting Colonel Gerrard's horse, went to fetch Dr. Brougham, who, as soon as he had examined the Colonel's wounds, said, "I'm afraid," "Colonel, there is no hope." "My poor wife, my poor children," was all he answered, and two hours afterwards he died, whilst the battle was still raging in front.

In the meantime the Regiment, pushing forward, crossed the nullah, and arrived before a small mud Fort held by some of the enemy, who were defending it with one brass gun. The Fusiliers charged forward, captured the gun at the point of the bayonet,

and driving the enemy before them, on to the plain beyond, followed them to their camp, where another gun was captured. But, through some oversight, neither of these guns was spiked; and, as the Regiment pushed further to the front, the enemy returned, and, re-occupying their position, opened a sharp grape fire on our left flank. Lieutenant Warner, who was sent back with two Companies, re-took the guns, which were this time spiked. 1857.

On the fall of Colonel Gerrard, Captain Caulfield (3rd Native Infantry, doing duty with the 1st Fusiliers), being the next senior Officer, had assumed command of the Brigade; and Lieutenant Macfarlane—an Officer of only six years' service—commanded the Regiment.

It was now seen that a large body of the enemy had taken refuge in a Serai, situated on the outskirts of the town; a square building occupying a large space of ground, with high masonry walls, built for the accommodation of travellers, as a protection against robbers, rather than soldiers. But it possessed some strength, having been partially fortified, and a gun placed in position to protect the entrance gate.

The Regiment soon forced its way inside, but the inmates with few exceptions escaped; one, lagging behind, was shot by Lieutenant Frank Brown with his revolver, whilst three others took refuge in a small turret on the top of the wall.

November 16th, 1857.

Orders were given to the Sergeant-Major to send up some of our men to despatch the Sepahis in the turret; when Private McGovern, who was standing near, said, "I'll go, Sir, by myself;" and, suiting the action to the word, ascended a little staircase at the main gate. The Officer then told the Sergeant-Major to send at least half-a-dozen men, but he replied, "Oh, never mind, sir;" "he'll be no loss." McGovern, it seems, heard this remark, and determined to do the work by himself; so he mounted the narrow staircase, and reached the top of the wall, where the three Sepahis were waiting for him. These fired at once, but McGovern,

1857. jumping down a couple of the steps, escaped unhurt, and, before the enemy could reload, he, mounting the steps, shot the man in front, and rushing on the other two bayoneted them without giving them time to recover. Private McGovern, who had already won the Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery on June 23rd, 1857, was a well-known character in the Regiment, his reckless, dare-devil acts being the talk of the Army; and had he been as abstemious as he was brave, he would have been of sterling worth.

The Serai was the last position vacated by the enemy, now flying from the field, protected by their Cavalry; who throughout the day had behaved with great bravery, repeatedly engaging the British Cavalry in single combat.

November 16th, 1857.

The enemy's camp, equipage, cattle, and eight guns fell into our hands.

For conspicuous gallantry during the action at Narnoul Lieutenant Francis David Millet Brown, of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, was awarded the Victoria Cross, "in having, at the" "imminent risk of his own life, rushed to the assistance of a." "wounded soldier of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, whom" "he carried off under a heavy fire from the enemy, whose" "Cavalry were within forty or fifty yards of him at the time."

The objects for which the Brigade had been sent out having been fully attained, it now commenced its return march; reaching Delhie on November 29th. But there was a sad gap in the ranks of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, which had left on the field of battle its gallant and generous-hearted Colonel. There was no complaint too trivial, no wrong too slight, to escape the attention, and secure the relief of Colonel Gerrard; known as the soldier's friend, he was ever ready to listen patiently to their injuries, and to redress their wrongs. The melancholy loss of their brave Colonel was deeply felt and generally deplored by Officers and men alike; there were few amongst them who had not felt the beneficial influence of his noble character, and his

November 29th, 1857.

memory will be deservedly cherished by those who love to honour 1857.
and respect the good, the noble, and the brave.

On the return march from Narnoul, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Seaton, C.B., having been appointed to succeed Colonel Gerrard, assumed command of the Regiment and Brigade.

But there was no rest yet. More arduous duties had to be heartily undertaken and conscientiously performed. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers had returned to Delhie only a few hours when they received orders to hold themselves in readiness to advance towards Lucknow, taking with them a convoy of miscellaneous stores, cattle, &c., for the Commander-in-Chief's camp. This convoy would, on the line of march, cover over eighteen miles of road; and every soldier knows that this convoy duty must involve much exposure and considerable risk, with little renown.

November 30th—December 8th, 1857.

But the importance attaching to the safe and speedy arrival of this convoy at the Commander-in-Chief's camp could hardly be over-estimated, he being at this time so crippled for want of carriage, &c., that his movements were retarded and the efficiency of his force impaired.

The Brigade told off for this escort duty was placed under command of Colonel Thomas Seaton, and consisted of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, detachments of the Carabineers and 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and some Regiments of Seik Infantry.

The force marched from Delhie at 2 a.m. on the 9th December, and, a few days afterwards, on reaching Allyghur, the strength of the 1st Fusiliers was increased by the addition of 100 men under Major Eld from the 3rd European Regiment.

On the 14th of December the Brigade reached Gungehri, where was a small British force of Belochees and some European Artillery, beyond whose camp the 1st Fusiliers pitched their tents. The morning meal was being prepared, when suddenly the assembly was sounded from the Commander's tent, and all hastened to their posts. The British camp was surrounded by

1857. cultivated fields, the high growth of the crops obstructing the view. The Brigade was quickly formed in line; the Fusiliers being in the centre, flanked by the Seik Infantry, and the Carabineers and Lancers on the extreme right, Hodson's Horse on the left. Our Horse Artillery pushed to the front, whilst our heavy guns, preparing for action, were moving slowly into position in rear of our line.

The enemy was now seen in considerable strength moving on our left, apparently with the intention of taking our Brigade in flank; Seaton, therefore, changed his position, advancing along the right side of the high road, our Horse Artillery opening a pretty heavy grape-fire, which to our surprise was only feebly answered.

It was now seen that the enemy was retiring, his guns merely covering his retreat. Evidently the attack had been intended for the Belooch camp, the enemy having been in ignorance of the arrival of our Brigade. The brunt of the skirmish fell on the Cavalry, the Carabineers and Lancers dashing boldly forward at the enemy's guns; but during their advance they encountered a more searching fire than they had anticipated, both of Artillery and Musketry. The Mutineers being concealed amongst the brushwood and sand-hills picked off our troopers as they charged to the front. The enemy's guns were captured, the gunners being sabred at their posts, their Infantry taking to flight; but this success was not gained without heavy loss, three of the Carabineer Officers and six men having been killed and fifteen wounded. Hodson, who had been watching his opportunity, now dashed forward with his Cavalry, his course being marked for many miles by killed and wounded, amongst whom were 23 of his own troopers. The captured guns, one 9- and two 6-pounders, were brought into our camp; and it was nearly 3 p.m. before our troops resumed their breakfast.

The next day our Brigade marched along the road where the skirmish had taken place. On their arrival in camp at Khass-

December 15th, 1857. Gunge, the inhabitants were loud in their praise of the gallantry of our troops, and were grateful to us for having relieved them from the presence of the Mutineer Army,* who had hurried through the town after their defeat. 1857.

On the 17th December, whilst on the line of march, Colonel Seaton received trustworthy information that the enemy were encamped near the road about two miles from Puttialee.

Seaton now concentrated his troops, and rapidly prepared for action; placing, as previously, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers in the centre, some of our Horse Artillery, British Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse on the right; some Horse Artillery and Seik Infantry on our left; our heavy guns bringing up the rear. As our Brigade advanced, we reached the summit of a slight eminence, from which was seen the town, surrounded by houses in walled gardens, the country generally being studded with groves of trees.

December 17th, 1857. The enemy were drawn up in front of the town, and appeared determined to make a vigorous stand; so our Horse Artillery opened fire, which was quickly replied to. It was hazy weather, and, as the grass and crops stood some six feet high, it was difficult to see what was going on in front; where Colonel Seaton and his Staff, escorted by a troop of Hodson's Horse, saw the enemy limbering up their guns, evidently intent

* "It must not be at all fancied that during the late *émeute* the people "of Hindoostan have united with the simple view of driving the English "from their country. Many had a much more pleasant object in view, and "it was that of helping themselves to property, to whomsoever it might "belong, always provided that such might be obtained without personal "risk. Where they could get a good fat buniah (corn-chandler), he was "plundered without the slightest hesitation; and, in fact, at this very "town, Secundrabad, the following new mode of extracting rupees was "practised by the Mutineers and parties of armed peasants upon the "wealthy, as I was informed by the people of the place:—The persons "suspected of being guilty of having money had one or two hooks inserted "under the shoulder-blades or other tender part. He was then pitched "into a well, and allowed to sink for about half-a-minute, and then drawn "up by a rope attached to the hooks. In sober truth, these men have "practised greater horrors upon each other than they have upon us."—*Blackwood, Delhie Campaign*, 1858.

1857. on beating a hasty retreat. Not an instant was to be lost, so Seaton, followed by his Staff and escort only, dashed forward at the guns, and sabring the gunners—who were completely taken aback by the suddenness of the movement—the guns were captured, with the loss of only one man. This gallant charge relieved the Infantry of much trouble, whilst Hodson and his men rode quietly forward, keeping to the right of the road on which the enemy were retreating, until, reaching the open country, he dashed amongst the Mutineers, punishing them severely, and pursuing the flying, disorganized masses for several miles; killing no less, it is said, than 600 men.

Our Infantry, in the meantime, had scoured the gardens and town, killing a vast number of the Mutineers found hiding.

Seaton's bold dash had so hastened the retreat of the enemy that our loss was insignificant; whilst we captured their camp, cattle, 13 guns, with tumbrils and ammunition.

On the 21st December our Brigade approached the old Military cantonment of Mynpoorie, adjoining which was the large and important town of that name. Here resided a Rajah named Tej Sing, who was in open rebellion, and announced his determination to make a desperate resistance; but the simple manœuvre of taking his troops in flank, in place of advancing along the main road, which he had protected by earthworks and guns, so disorganized the enemy that they fled, after having fired only a few badly-directed shots.

In the town a gun foundry was discovered, with moulds probably stolen from our gun factory at Futtehghur; there was also a new 8-inch howitzer of our own make: this gun had never been fired.

Whilst at Mynpoorie, information was received that the Commander-in-Chief's camp was only distant about 30 miles. Hodson, "eager as usual to be foremost," volunteered to open communication. Permission having been granted, he started off with 100 of his men, but he had only proceeded one march (to Bewar)

when he learnt that we had been misinformed as to the position 1857.
of the Chief's Camp. Hodson, to execute his design, would have to cover some 20 additional miles; and many of his horses having shewn signs of fatigue, he picked out 20 of the most lively, and, leaving 80 of his men at a place called Chibramow, pushed forward with his second in command, MacDowell. In a few hours he succeeded in opening communication with the Commander-in Chief, then encamped at Miran-Rederai, who having received Hodson's reports and issued his orders, the little party started to return. They had not proceeded far, when Hodson learnt that the enemy, with about 2000 men, lay in wait to intercept him. A Brahmin, having heard the Mutineers discussing their plans, walked along the road, and, meeting Hodson's party, informed their Commander of his danger. The man who gave this information had on the previous morning received kindly assistance from Hodson, which was now repaid with interest; for the timely warning probably saved his benefactor's life. Hodson, leaving the main road, passed with his men within earshot of the ambuscade, and reached our camp in safety; having ridden 55 miles in 10 hours without changing horses. Great was the joy of all in camp; for intelligence, apparently reliable, had been received that Hodson and his party had been waylaid and destroyed.

Seaton's Column marched into Bewar on the last day of 1857,
December 31st,—January 4th, 1857. 1858. where it remained until the 4th January, 1858, when it was joined by Brigadier Walpole's Brigade; this latter Officer now assuming command of the united forces.

By this junction communication was completely opened from Calcutta to Lahore.

On the 4th January Walpole's force marched into Futtehghur, where was the Headquarters of the Army under Sir Colin Campbell. Colonel Seaton was appointed to command the Futtehghur Brigade, and districts to the South and West; a task requiring

1857. decision and judgment, he having but a weak force to perform duties full of danger and difficulty.

Captain Ellis Cunliffe and Lieutenant Montague Hall rejoined the Regiment at Futtehghur; and the former, by virtue of his seniority, assumed command.

Before entering on fresh scenes of action, it is necessary that we should briefly note events which had occurred since the outbreak of the Mutiny at Lucknow, when on May 3rd, 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence had taken energetic measures to punish the 7th Oude Irregulars for their disaffection. The discontent then openly manifested was but the murmur of the coming storm; and although a few of the Native soldiers, who still professed loyalty, continued to serve with our troops, their presence was at first felt to be a source of danger rather than a protection.

The Native troops were, with few exceptions, in open mutiny, and the number of our Europeans so small, that measures were speedily taken to occupy the Residency and the adjacent buildings, which were now being hurriedly placed in a state of defence.

Soon afterwards the Military Police broke into open revolt; and as they and their fellow-Mutineers now assumed a dangerous and warlike attitude, the Residency was at once made "the" "great point of concentration" and occupied by the European inhabitants and the British soldiers, as well as some loyal detachments of Native Infantry Regiments,* and the doubtful Native Artillery of the ex-King.

On the 25th of June the rebel Army took up its position at "Chinhut," eight miles from the Residency. Lawrence personally commanded the British force, which he had ordered to proceed against the rebels, intending to drive them from their position and assert British authority. But there were traitors in our camp; the ex-King's Artillery purposely disabled our guns,

* Lieutenant R. H. M. Aitken defended the "Bailie Guard" with his men of 13th Native Infantry, and gained his V.C.

our troops were forced to retire, and the battle of "Chinhut" 1857.
terminated in disaster, defeat, and heavy loss.

The rebels now occupied the city in great force, our outposts were withdrawn, and our troops, amounting to only 927 Europeans, and 765 loyal Native soldiers, were concentrated within the inner defences of the Residency.

On the 4th July Sir Henry Lawrence was killed by a shell, which burst in his room, whilst he was dictating his orders. He was succeeded in the command by Major Banks, who was shot on July 22nd. In the garrison were 68 ladies and 66 children, all suffering terrible hardships, and undergoing acute privations. The garrison, on reduced rations, still defended itself with unflinching valour; the soldiers at the different posts knew no rest, there were no reliefs, each man's order was to defend his post till death if needs be, for succour there was none.

On September 25th, Outram and Havelock, with their brave troops,* succeeded in cutting their way through the narrow streets of the city and gaining an entrance into the Residency.† Their advent was hailed with unbounded joy; but the transports of the defenders were somewhat modified, when they realized that they had been reinforced, but not relieved, and that a greater number of mouths must now be fed from their supplies, already alarmingly insufficient. But the troops returned to their posts and fought

* Amongst the troops under Havelock, who so valiantly fought their way into the Residency, was an Artillery Company of veteran soldiers of the "Invalid Battalion," all of whom had volunteered for this dangerous service. Of these brave old soldiers only a very few survived the hardships of the campaign. Four Officers of the "Invalid Battalion" also placed their services at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief for active service during the Mutiny; of these four, three—Captains, W. R. Haslewood, R. W. H. Fanshawe, and P. R. Innes—had been invalided from the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers. They were all promoted, at the conclusion of the Mutiny, to Majorities, for "Valued services rendered."

† Lieutenant Montague Hall, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, served with General Havelock's Force as Assistant Engineer, rendering valuable service at the actions at Munglewar, 23rd to 25th September, 1857, and the advance of Havelock's Force into the Residency.

1857. on, hoping almost against hope, that real relief might come at last. At length Sir Colin Campbell arrived, and on the night of the 22nd November succeeded in creating such an alarm amongst the enemy, by making a feint attack on the Kaisar Bagh—that the beleaguered garrison, including the ladies and children,* escaped, through tortuous passages and under ruined buildings, in the dead of night, followed by the garrison, who silently retreated unperceived.

The enemy, in ignorance of the escape of the garrison, continued to pour their accustomed fire into our deserted posts; and it was not until after daybreak that the Mutineers discovered that the Residency had been evacuated at night and everything of value removed or destroyed. But Havelock only survived the relief a few hours; he had been gradually sinking for weeks; and the insufficient food hastened his decline. At the first halting-ground he passed away.

Sir Colin left 4000 men with 35 guns under General Outram at Alambagh, close to the city, to remind the enemy that though the beleaguered garrison had escaped, Lucknow was ours. He, with 3000 men to guard his convoy of women, children, and wounded, hastened to secure the safety of Cawnpore, where General Windham, "a brave and adventurous soldier,"† had been left with an insufficient force to combat the Gwalior Contingent, numbering some 15,000 men, Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, all drilled and disciplined by us, and led by Tantia Topi, one of the few Native leaders admitted to be a General of no mean capacity.

Sir Colin knew that the non-receipt of news from the Cawnpore Garrison boded no good, and therefore left his camp and, followed by his Staff, hurried forward to Cawnpore. It was on the evening of the 29th November, 1857, that he crossed the bridge of boats over the Ganges. Firing was heard, and it was evident that a battle was being fought; but Sir Colin had yet to

* Of the 68 ladies, 1 had been shot, and 6 had died; of the 66 children, 23 had perished.

† Malleson.

learn that Tantia Topi was so far the victor, and that Windham had 1858.
been forced to seek the shelter of his entrenchments, after having suffered heavy loss.* But the Commander-in-Chief's arrival at Cawnpore materially changed the aspect of affairs; for, quickly hurrying to Windham's camp, and having gained all necessary information, and instructed Windham to keep close, he returned to his camp across the river, promising to bring relief the next morning. True to his word, daybreak found Sir Colin with his relief troops in the field; confidence was now restored, and a succession of glorious repulses forced Tantia Topi from the positions he had gained—with the loss of camp, guns, cattle, and a large proportion of his Army. Nor was this all. Sir Colin, at the head of his Cavalry, pursued the defeated foe through the town of Bithoor, where he razed the palace of the infamous Nana to the ground; and, still pressing on, captured the Fortress of Futtehghur† (January 3rd, 1858); the day following which Walpole's force, with which were the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, marched into Futtehghur; bringing under its escort the much-needed supplies and carriage for the Headquarters Army.

On the 27th January the 1st Bengal Fusiliers commenced its march to Cawnpore, reaching its destination on February 3rd.

And was this the Cawnpore that we had only a short time previously known so well?—the Assembly Rooms and adjacent buildings a heap of ruins, the floors and walls of which had been so lately saturated with blood—the Well at the entrance gate, now the tomb of hundreds of murdered women and children, amongst whom were many who had been our friends—the Barracks, where

* Captain Ellis Cunliffe and Lieutenant N. T. Parsons, who had lately arrived from England, finding communication closed, were unable to join their Regiment, were attached to H.M. 64th Regiment, and engaged with that Regiment against the Gwalior Contingent under Tantia Topi. Lieutenant Parsons was severely wounded, and invalided to Europe.

† It was on this occasion that Lieutenant Frederick Roberts (now Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Roberts, Bart., G.C.B., of Afghan celebrity), who was born in the Bengal European Regiment whilst his father was its Commander, gained his Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery.

1858. our Regiment had been so lately quartered, shattered by the missiles of the countless hordes who had assailed Wheeler and his brave garrison—all so treacherously deceived, and, with the exception of four, barbarously murdered. The very trees that remained, sickly with the injuries received, seemed to cry out for retribution, justly claimed. It was such scenes as these that made our soldiers' blood boil, and increased their thirst for vengeance; our wives and little ones—they, at least, had done no wrong. Whilst

February 3rd—6th, 1858. the Regiment was at Cawnpore, Captain F. O. Salusbury, "a very gallant and capable Officer,"* joined; in command of a large draft of recruits, who were the first armed with the Enfield rifle. These recruits had, by the energy of their Commander, been so thoroughly disciplined and drilled in the use of the new weapon that, on arrival at Allahabad, the detachment was entrusted with the charge of a huge convoy, which it escorted to Cawnpore; and, on joining the Headquarters of the Regiment, the recruits were handed over efficient soldiers, and at once allowed to take their place in the ranks; an advantage, under the circumstances, hardly to be over-estimated.

Lieutenants Maxwell and Magniac also joined from leave of absence; and Lieutenant Hall, who had been employed on the Staff with General Havelock's force, with which he entered the Residency on September 25th, 1857, had arrived at Cawnpore with Sir Colin's Relief Army, and returned to Regimental duty.

The 1st Bengal Fusiliers was now brought up to a strength of 30 Officers and 546 rank and file.

The Commander-in-Chief's Army was at this time being organized for the final assault on the City of Lucknow; the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, together with H.M. 23rd Royal Welsh and 79th Highlanders, forming the 5th or Brigadier Douglas's Brigade.

On the morning of the 6th of February the Brigade com-

* Malleson.

February 6th—23rd, 1858. menced its march towards Lucknow, crossing the Ganges by the bridge of boats, and reaching Oonao the same afternoon, where it occupied the admirably-designed defences, constructed by the Rifle Brigade. We halted at Oonao until the 11th February, when we proceeded on our march.

As the British Army approached the capital of Oude the desolation of the surrounding country was almost painful. Extensive sandy plains, which had lately been cultivated, were now "sparsely" "covered with thorns and wiry grass;" the villages, deserted and in ruins, all forming a strong contrast to the appearance of the country through which our Regiment had passed on its march to Futtehghur.

On the 23rd of February we sighted the British camp which had been left by Sir Colin Campbell at the Alambagh,* under General Outram; who had, notwithstanding the repeated attempts of the enemy to drive him from his position, manfully held his ground, and given some severe lessons to those who had the temerity to attack him.

On the 25th February, at 7 a.m., a desperate attack by upwards of 20,000 men was made on the British position; but Outram's force had been augmented by Walpole's Brigade, as well as by the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, and some troops of Bengal Horse Artillery.

The battle was hotly contested; and at 10 a.m. the enemy was threatening the British left, whilst a main attack was being made along our whole front and right, the enemy occupying position in rear of our Fort of "Jellalabad."

Outram now saw his opportunity, and grasped it. Dashing to the enemy's right with a strong force of Cavalry, he, at the same time, attacked him vigorously in front; whilst another force of Cavalry was sent round to take hm in rear, and our Horse Artillery, under Olpherts and Remmington, attacked him in flank,

* Captain Trevor Wheler joined the Regiment on its arrival at the Alambagh.

1858. creating much confusion. Just then Outram completed his plan, by flinging the Queen's Bays and Hodson's Horse at him, and seizing two of his guns. This movement caused the enemy to reel back, but not in absolute flight. The Mutineers still received our repeated charges with a bold front; and, notwithstanding that they had been forced to give ground, they again brought their masses of Infantry to the attack. Seizing a grove of trees in advance of a village occupied by our pickets, who, from want of ammunition, were forced to fall back, the enemy pushing forward; and were in the act of possessing themselves of the village when they were met by a troop of our Cavalry, hastily dispatched to reinforce the picket; and the village was regained.

February 28th, 1858.

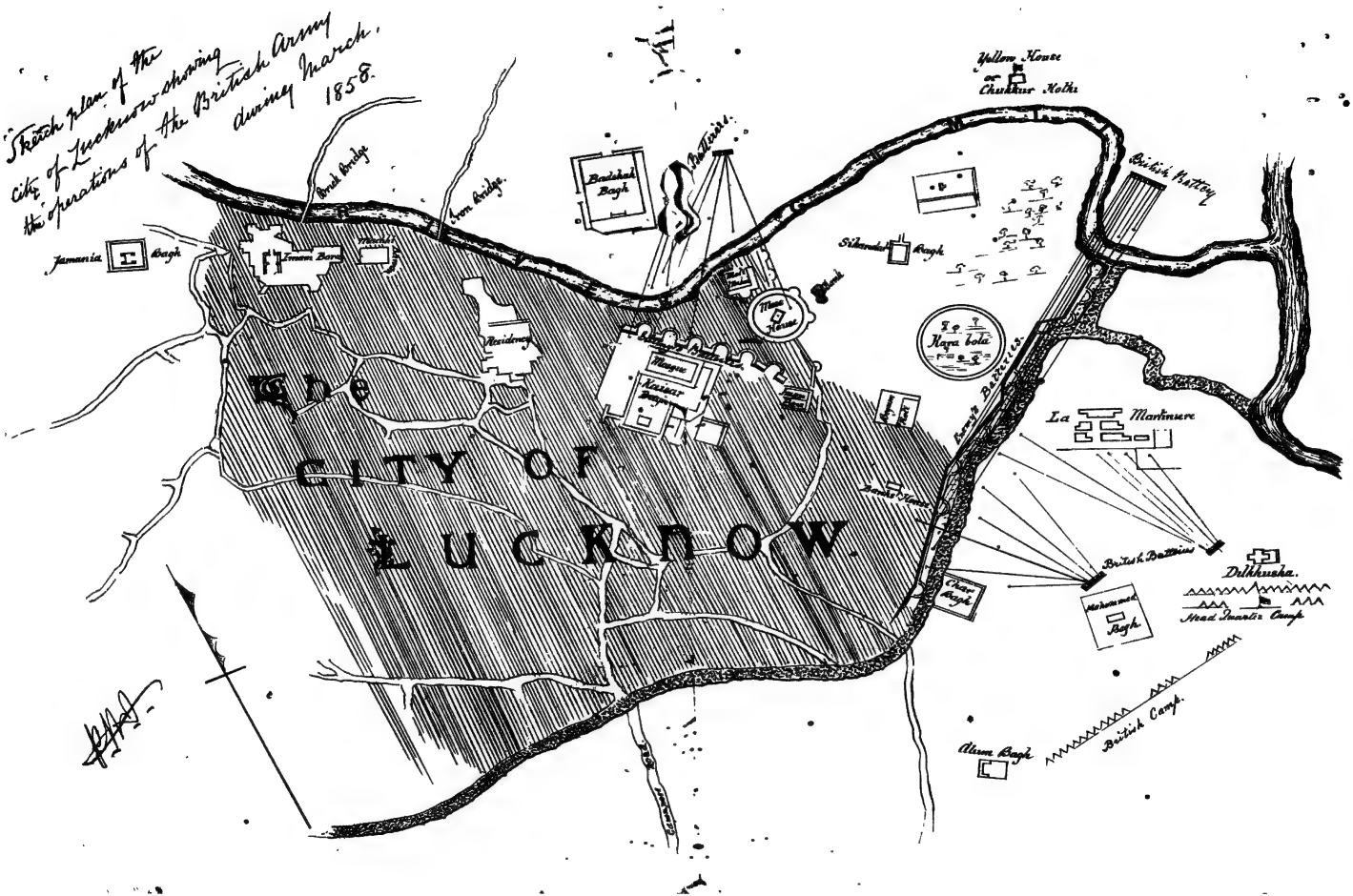
All night the enemy endeavoured to seize the left of our position; but, towards morning, they realized that their attempts were futile, and drew off towards the city.

February 26th, 1858.

General Outram had been ordered, on 24th November, 1857, to firmly retain his hold on the Alambagh. For upwards of three months he had done so in the face of many difficulties; his force of under 4000 men being opposed by an Army consisting mostly of trained soldiers, and estimated at 120,000. The trust which the Commander-in-Chief had reposed in Outram had been nobly fulfilled; and on the 1st March Sir Colin Campbell arrived at the "Alambagh," and assumed the chief command of the Army before Lucknow; now numbering 20,000 men—the choicest in the British service—and 120 guns. With this Force, not only was the capture of the city a foregone conclusion; but any lavish expenditure of life would be unnecessary.

The Commander-in-Chief's plan of action had been arranged in consultation with Brigadier Napier,* his Commanding Engineer, who had already displayed much ability in counteracting what might have proved a difficulty. In rear of the British camp at Alambagh, where our Brigade was placed, was a large jheel or

* Now Field-Marshal Robert Lord Napier of Magdala.


Sketch plan of the city of Lucknow showing the operations of the British Army during March, 1858.
Yellow House or Chukkur Kothi
British Battery
Brick Bridge
Iron Bridge
Badshah Bagh
Batteries
Jamania Bagh
Imam Bara
Residency
Sikandar Bagh
Mess House
Kara bola
Mosque
Kaisar Bagh
Army's Batteries
La Martiniere
Bank's House
Char Bagh
British Batteries
Dilkhusha.
Mahommed Bagh
Head Quarter Camp
British Camp.
Alum Bagh
THE CITY OF LUCKNOW.

lake, which afforded complete protection to our rear. When this jheel should become dry and passable after the rains, it would have required a very strong picket to have afforded protection to our camp; but this was obviated by the ingenuity of Napier, who, collecting all the spare commissariat elephants, walked them up and down the jheel; so that, baked by the sun, it became a perfectly impassable bed of pitfalls. The jheel now afforded a protection as reliable as if it had been filled with water. 1858.

The City of Lucknow may be said to somewhat represent the form of a triangle; the apex pointing towards the east, the north side of the triangle formed by the river Goomti, the south by a canal, and the base, facing west, about 3½ miles in length, by fortified houses and works. In the centre of this triangle is the City of Lucknow, consisting of noble palaces, mosques, houses with gardens, and close, narrow, winding streets.

The "Alambagh," or Garden of the World, is situated south of the apex of the triangle, and on the plain near at hand is a palace called the "Dilkusha," or the Heart's Delight, and "La Martinière," a handsome building erected by Captain Claude Martine; who, with his Company of Frenchmen, joined the Bengal European Regiment in 1763. The "Alambagh" was the point from which Havelock and Outram had attempted the relief of the Residency on September 25th, 1857; and it was from this place, also, that Sir Colin Campbell had effected the relief on the 22nd of November following. As the previous advances had been made from the direction of the "Alambagh," the enemy evidently anticipated that the capture of the City would on this occasion be attempted from the same base; and they had planned their defences accordingly. The canal on the south face of the city was defended by a triple line of works of enormous strength, erected, at a great expenditure of labour, by trained engineers; but the river face, east and north, was comparatively undefended; and, as the left or north bank was higher than that on the City side, our guns could be worked with great effect.

1858. The Commander-in-Chief was fully alive to the want of judgment displayed by the enemy; and formed his plan of attack so as to profit by it. He ordered a strong force under Outram to gain possession of the left bank of the river Gumti, east and north. The apex of our supposed triangle towards the east is irregular, and connected with the south or canal face of the defences by a wet, sandy channel.

Sir Colin Campbell fixed his Headquarters at the "Dilkusha," where he would remain with the main Army until assured of the success of Outram's movement; which was to be made known by raising colours on the roof of a tall building, called the "Yellow House" or "Chukkur Kothi," easily visible from the top of the Dilkusha, and the occupation of which would be a sure indication that Outram's force had succeeded in taking the enemy in reverse.

The "Martinière," situated on a plain between the "Dilkusha," and the enemy's line of works on the canal, was still held in strong force by the rebel Army. The Commander-in-Chief had no intention of disturbing him until, finding that Outram had succeeded, he could advance with his main Army to attack the city from the south and west, when a Brigade, under Adrian Hope, would be sent forward to clear the Martinière.

The British Army was now of sufficient strength to warrant Sir Colin Campbell in dividing it into separate *corps d'Armée;* and he would thus be enabled to enfilade the enemy's batteries on the canal, and also effect his entry into the City without any great sacrifice of life.

The plan of attack having been arranged in its minutest details, the movements of our troops commenced on March 2nd at 2 a.m.; when the 1st Bengal Fusiliers struck camp, and, with a heavy battery of siege-guns under their escort, proceeded to occupy a position somewhat in rear of the "Dilkusha."

But next day orders were received to leave our camp standing, and proceed to the protection of one of our heavy batteries close

March 3rd, 1858. to the "Mahummed Bagh," a garden to the left of the "Dilkusha," in the centre of which was a large masonry house surrounded by well-constructed walls. The "Mahummed Bagh" was within 700 yards of the enemy's batteries, from which a heavy fire was being maintained; but no damage was done, as the Regiment was well under cover. 1858.

At night the movements of the enemy could be distinctly heard; indeed, our guards were relieved by the sound of the enemy's gongs.

Our heavy guns, which had now opened fire from the "Dilkusha" and "Mahummed Bagh" batteries, soon succeeded in silencing those of the enemy; and on the morning of the 5th our Regiment returned to the "Dilkusha" camp to find that the whole of the 3rd, 5th, and 6th Brigades of the British Army, and a large portion of our siege-train, had pitched their camp close at hand. It now became known that our Brigade was to proceed with the Division under General Outram, to carry out the first part of Sir Colin Campbell's operations. The right flank of our Division nearly reached the bank of the river Gumti, which, after leaving the City, makes a sudden bend to the south. Our left flank stretched out towards the "Alambagh," whilst between the right and left flanks there was an interval, at this time occupied by Hodson's Horse, 1600 strong.

March 5th, 1858.

On the morning of the 6th of March our Division struck camp and took ground to the right; and thus, circling round the apex of the triangle, it would gain the east and north banks of the Gumti, which were destined to be the scene of our operations. In the early morning our Regiment crossed the river by one of the bridges which had been constructed by our Engineers. The day broke bright and clear, and the goodly array of British troops was a grand sight—the Queen's Bays, the 9th Lancers, and the wild troopers of the Punjab Cavalry, with our splendid Horse Artillery and Light Field Batteries. Then on our right and left were the 23rd Royal Welsh and the 79th Highlanders, with two

58. Battalions of the Rifle Brigade close by; all looking ready for the work in hand.

The ground was undulating, and in some places heavy; water was scarce, and the sun soon shone out in great power; but the troops, making a joke of their discomforts, were all cheerful and full of excitement.

Just as the Regiment, after having been marching several hours, emerged from a grove of trees, through which it had passed, on to an open plain, the sound of heavy firing was heard ahead. Our Horse Artillery galloped to the front, and, quickly replying with shot, grape, and shell, prevented the enemy from approaching our line. But the Fusiliers now changed position; halting, sent pickets to the front, whilst the rest of the force, reposing under the cool shade of a grove of trees, partook of a kind of picnic meal; and soon proceeding on, encamped that night near Chinhut, where Sir Henry Lawrence had met with his reverse.

March 6th, 1858.

Early on the morning of March 7th our men were aroused by an Artillery fire from the enemy close by, some of their shots passing through our camp and wounding a few of our soldiers. Our Regiment was quickly under arms; and none too soon, for the enemy in force were seen approaching our camp. Our troops, moving to the front, caused them to halt; and the Rifle Brigade, skirmishing very effectively, made them keep their distance, and prevented them from observing our movements, which was evidently the object they had in view. Having failed in effecting their *reconnaissance*, they retired; and the villages in front were occupied by two Companies of our Regiment under Captain Salusbury. The Headquarters now returned to camp.

On this day Captain Hume joined the Bengal Fusiliers, and in virtue of seniority assumed command. The 8th of March was comparatively a day of rest, but early on the morning of the 9th the serious work commenced.

Soon after midnight the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were on parade

being under orders to escort our heavy siege-guns into our most 1858.
forward batteries, which had been prepared for their reception on the previous day, and which were within 600 yards of the enemy's nearest works.

Our elephants being harnessed to the guns, the convoy slowly and silently moved along, aided by a bright, clear moon. Having advanced about a mile, our forward pickets were reached, and here
March 9th, 1858. the main body of our troops halted, whilst two Companies of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers proceeded with the guns up to the batteries. It had been anticipated that some resistance would be offered; but notwithstanding that the elephants, in disobedience to the orders of their Mahouts, occasionally trumpeted, and the noise consequent on getting the guns into position was considerable, the enemy did not interfere. The guns were placed in array before daybreak; when they soon announced their presence by raking through the enemy's position in front. Leaving a small force to protect the guns, our Regiment now advanced.

In the meantime the Skirmishers of our Division had cleared the ground in front, when the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and
March 9th, 1858. two Companies of the 79th pushed forward. Advancing steadily, a small stream was crossed, and moving up a slight incline, a sandy plain was seen at our feet, on the further side of which was a trench or outer defence; and beyond stood the "Yellow House." The trench was quickly passed, the enemy driven back, and the "Yellow House" was captured.

Lieutenant Money led the advanced party, consisting of 2 of our Companies; and, believing that the house had been cleared of the enemy, he halted outside, but soon some shots from the basement of the house wounded some of our men.

In the meantime the Colours of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers had been planted on the roof of the "Yellow House;" but it was discovered that, although the upper stories of the building had been cleared of the enemy, the large arched basement was held

1858. by a few determined rebels, who intended to sell their lives as dearly as possible. It was no easy matter to dislodge these men; for it was quite dark inside, and the basement was intersected by numerous walls. Our men advanced, and three times rushed into the building; but they could see nothing, though they knew the enemy must be concealed inside. Captain E. St. George, followed by Lieutenant Magniac, entered one of the passages, and shot some of the enemy with their revolvers; but here St. George fell, a musket-ball having passed through his body. An attempt was now made to burn the rebels out; some of the thatch of the old Cavalry lines close at hand being placed to windward and fired, but without effect. Holes were also made in the floor above; and live shells dropped into the passages below, which, exploding, startled the occupants, who, nine in number dashed out, and ran the gauntlet towards the river. All fell save one, who, plunging into the stream, swam for his life, and probably might have escaped, had not Hospital-Sergeant Wilson, who was bringing in some wounded men, taken a steady aim at the fugitive just as he reached a shallow in the centre of the stream, and he, too, rolled over, mortally wounded.

We were now complete masters of the "Yellow House" and
March 9th, 1858. the ground some distance in advance; and the signal of our success had been shewn aloft to the Commander-in-Chief. Our loss had been small, the enemy having been taken in reverse; and whilst the Companies under Money had been employed as just described, our troops had cleared the jungle and villages covering the position to the north and west. So confident was Outram now of success that he would have pushed further on; but orders were received from the Chief telling him to hold his ground, but nothing more.

Sir James Outram in his dispatch says "the left Column of"
"attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers supported by two"
"Companies of the 79th Highlanders, carried the Chukr Kothee"
"(or Yellow House), the key of the rebel position, in gallant"

"style, and thereby turned the strong line of entrenchments" 1858.
"which had been constructed by the enemy on the right bank"
"of the Goomtee."

General Outram now gave orders for a party of the 1st Bengal
March 9th, Fusiliers to retrograde along the river bank with some
1858. heavy guns; and, having reached the junction of the Gumti and the canal, to enfilade the enemy's batteries, which formed their first defence on the city side of the canal. The expedition was commanded by Major Nicholson of the Engineers. The Infantry was under Captain F. O. Salusbury.

Arrived at their destination, the enemy's works were seen to be of enormous strength; but no reply was made to our enfilading fire, which raked through and through their batteries in flank. Nicholson now formed the opinion that these batteries must be deserted; and Salusbury, anxious to test the accuracy of the surmise, offered to get some boats and cross the river with his men; Nicholson refusing to sanction the proposal, as he was loth to let his guns be left without support.

Lieutenant Thomas Butler, one of Salusbury's subalterns, now came forward to solve the difficulty; volunteering to personally ascertain whether the fortifications on the opposite bank of the river were occupied by the enemy or not. It should be borne in mind that, though it appeared that no great numbers were inside the fortifications, the chances were that there would be many of the Mutineers in or about the place; and those acquainted with the habits of the Natives of India will fully realize the danger of the task which Butler had proposed to undertake.

Nicholson, whilst warning Butler of the risks he ran, gave his consent; and Butler, throwing off his coat, took to the stream, which was here some sixty yards across, with a strong current flowing at the time. Arrived on the inner bank, Butler looked round; the inside of the enemy's works was still as silent as the grave; but, even so, it needs some nerve to storm a fort alone. Passing to the rear, Butler gained an entrance unopposed; and, mounting

1858. on the parapet, signalled with a white flag which he had improvised, to a Staff Officer of Adrian Hope's Brigade. This Officer came near, but sent no aid; and so Butler was left unarmed, and cold and wet, to garrison the Fort alone. Gesticulating for help, Butler was seen by an Officer of a Highland Regiment on the plain in front of the Martinière, who, rapidly advancing with his men, occupied the Fort. The Seiks soon followed, when Butler, relieved, swam back; having performed an act of cool and dauntless courage, which won for him the Victoria Cross, and his Regiment the honour of adding one more to the long list of heroes who have adorned its ranks.*

On the evening of the 9th March the Companies under Salusbury rejoined the Headquarters of the Regiment, and bivouacked near the "Yellow House."

The success of Outram's Division was complete. He had possessed himself of the left bank of the river, occupied the "Badshah Bagh" and its surroundings, silenced the enemy's batteries on the right bank of the river, and finally enfiladed those on the south face of the triangle, forcing him to vacate his defences.

It was now time for Sir Colin Campbell to act.

On the morning of the 9th the Commander-in-Chief, seeing through his telescope the Colours of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers floating on the top of the "Yellow House," sent Brigadier Adrian Hope with his Brigade to seize the Martinière. This was quickly done, the enemy having withdrawn their guns across the canal. The 42nd Highlanders, forming part of this Brigade, had

* Extract from "The Victoria Cross, an Official Chronicle."

"Lieutenant Thomas Adair Butler—Date of act of bravery 9th March," 1858. Of which success the skirmishers on the other side of the river were" "subsequently apprised by Lieutenant Butler of the Bengal Fusiliers, who" swam across the Goomtee, and, climbing the parapet, remained in that" position for a considerable time under a heavy fire of musketry until the" work was completed."—*Extract from Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram's Memorandum of Operations at the Siege of Lucknow.*

relieved Lieutenant Butler of his charge, and then swept down the 1858.
line of works, penetrating as far as Banks's house.

Next day, the 10th, there was some skirmishing, but our Regiment was not engaged. Our camp changed ground, but was still in rear of the "Yellow House;" which was not occupied, as the Regiment bivouacked out until the morning of the 11th, when it took possession without opposition of a Mosque which commanded the iron bridge, nearly opposite to the Machi Bawn. But, during this day, vast progress had been made by the main Army under Campbell. The two sides of our triangle had been completely gained; and the base had been assaulted with such success that "Banks's House" and the "Begum Koti" were occupied before nightfall, and the "Kaisar Bagh" or "King's Palace" was almost within our grasp. It was at the storm of the "Begum Koti" that Major W. S. Hodson,* of the 1st Bengal European Regiment and Commandant of "Hodson's Horse," was mortally wounded.

Major Hodson, who had ordered his Regiment to parade, preparatory to crossing the canal, rode to the front to select a fitting spot; but seeing Brigadier Napier advancing on the "Begum Koti," Hodson joined his force; and after passing through the breach he pressed forward to see what was going on inside, when a shot fired by a Mutineer from a window entered his side, giving him his death-wound.

Hodson's short career was one of marvellous brilliancy; and, had he not succumbed to his wound, it is more than likely that he would have lived to be one of England's greatest soldiers. But it was otherwise decreed. Hodson had many friends, but he had some enemies; and we ask these latter to say of his memory as of his soul—"*Requiescat in pace.*"

On the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th of March, although the main Army, under Sir Colin Campbell, was making vast progress,

* Captain Hodson had received his Brevet-Majority for distinguished services before Delhie.

1858. pushing its way into the very heart of Lucknow, our Division was comparatively inactive. Outram, burning with anxiety to take a leading part in the fray, sent to the Commander-in-Chief, to ask permission to be allowed to cross the iron bridge, but Sir Colin's policy was irrevocable; India was reeking with British blood, and the capture of the City of Lucknow must be accomplished without needless loss of life.

Awaiting the Chief's reply, Outram drew up his troops opposite the bridge, the *tete-du-pont* of which was occupied in great force by the enemy, who, with some guns, which they were serving well, prepared to dispute our passage across; these occasionally firing at our troops, and doing some injury; one of the bullets, passing through Lieutenant Ellis's padded coat, and slightly wounding Captain Salusbury in the left leg.

An Aide-de-Camp now arrived with the Chief's reply, which only gave permission to Outram to cross the iron bridge, if he could do so without the loss of a single man. This condition rendered the assault impossible, without disobeying orders; so Outram unwillingly withdrew his troops.

Before the 15th the main Army had stormed the "Imam Bara,"

March 11th to 15th, 1858. the second line of the enemy's works being thus turned. On the 14th the Chief penetrated to the China Bazaar; and thus the third line of the enemy's defences was gained. The "Moti Mahal," the "Chattar Munzil" Palace, the "Tara Koti," all fell into our hands; and, before the day was over, the "Kaisar Bagh" was captured. Its cellars, con-

March 14th, 1858. taining embroidered cloths of priceless worth, gold and silver ornaments, jewels of every description, diamond tiaras, and gorgeous Royal Standards, banners, china, jade, and every kind of valuable, all fell into our hands. The captors, "drunk with plunder," revelled in the spoil, heaping on a bonfire in the centre court the rich brocades and gold embroidered shawls, in order that they might collect the melted gold.

By this time the Mutineers were streaming out from the captured city; and Outram's Brigade returned to camp behind the "Yellow House," where, for the first time for five days and nights, the men were unaccoutred. 1858.

On the 16th of March our Brigadier received permission to cross the river near "Secundra Bagh," over a hastily-constructed pontoon bridge, floating on casks; so, marching past the 32nd mess-house—or, rather, where the house had stood—we reached the "Kaisar Bagh," when an attack was ordered to be made on the "Residency," which still contained some of the rebel troops. A rush in the face of a few wild shots, and the "Residency" was in our hands; the defence of which now formed a feeble contrast to the occasion on which Outram and Havelock, with their brave Residency force, held the position for months, in the very teeth of countless multitudes. Our troops, still pushing on, seized the ruined Fortress of "Machhi Bawn," from which Captain Salusbury, with his Company, pushed on up to the gateway overlooking the "Husanee Bagh," capturing three guns upon the river-bank, and one at the gateway of the garden

Lieutenant Charles Macgregor,* attached to our Regiment, was, as usual, to the front, and greatly distinguished himself by engaging in single combat with "one of the bravest of the" "rebels," whom he reduced to eternal submission by sending his sword through his body up to its hilt. Brougham says, "Mac returned looking very warm and exceedingly wild and" "happy."

The detached duties upon which our Regiment was now employed were not unattended with danger, for Lieutenants Maxwell and Ellis nearly came to an untimely end. One of our soldiers, having misunderstood his orders, set fire to a powder factory; which, exploding, seriously

March 16th—20th, 1858.

* Now Major-General Sir Charles Macgregor, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., Quarter-master-General of the Army in Bengal.

1858. injured four of our men; but, happily, there was no loss of life. Lieutenant Ellis, who was near at hand at the time of the explosion, escaped minus his eyebrows, whiskers, and moustache, and was fortunate enough not to lose his sight.

By the 21st of March the city of Lucknow had been completely cleared of the Mutineers; and a few days after the townspeople commenced to return to their homes. Gradually the shops were opened, buildings repaired, and the streets were again crowded with citizens eager to trade. The fields around became green with cultivation, the dead lay silent in their graves, and all was peace again.

During the operations against Lucknow the following Officers of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers were wounded:—

Captain Salusbury (slightly).
Captain St. George (dangerously).
Lieutenant Ellis (slightly).

8 rank and file being killed and 21 wounded. The total loss of the British Army was 127 killed and 595 wounded.

During the following April a flying Column under Major-General Sir Hope Grant was organized to restore confidence in the Fyzabad district, and rid the country of some powerful bands of Mutineers, who were looting the villages and destroying the peace of the inhabitants. The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers served with Sir Hope Grant's force.

On the 13th of April an engagement took place against some thousands of the rebels near Baree; when an attempt was made to seize our baggage, which straggled over 3 miles. The 1st Bengal Fusiliers were ordered to assist the rear-guard in repelling the attacks of the enemy's Cavalry, who had succeeded in rounding the village, the point of our assault. They were charging down on the baggage when they encountered Nos. 5. and 6 Companies of the Regiment under Captain Cunliffe, who, allowing the Cavalry to come within 30 yards at the charge, said, "Steady, men, and give them a volley." The order was carried out so efficiently, and the

aim of our soldiers was so true, that a vast number of the enemy 1858.
fell and the remainder fled.

The rebel Cavalry was said, on this occasion, to have been commanded in person by "The Moolvie," one of the principal leaders of the Lucknow rebellion. This man had been formerly placed in irons by our Commissioner for sedition; but, having escaped, became our bitterest enemy.

During September the 1st Bengal European Regiment was employed in driving a large force of Mutineers from an island in the river Gogra, not far from Durriabad, where the Regiment was quartered. The expedition was completely successful, the enemy being defeated with heavy loss. In this engagement the Regiment had one man killed, and four wounded; again on the 6th October the Mutineers were attacked, and this time dispersed with the loss of many men and one gun; finally, on the 30th October, Captain Trevor Wheler,* of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, commanded a force, with which were about 200 rank and file of his Regiment under Lieutenant W. Warner, a troop of Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant F. Brown of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and about 600 Artillery, Native Cavalry and Infantry.

Wheler's force left Durriabad on the early morning of 30th October, and, having marched rapidly for about 15 miles, came on the track of a large body of the Mutineers near Nawab-Gunge. Pursuit was ordered, and the detachment, "after marching for 6 " "miles through a country much intersected by ravines, came " "upon the enemy's pickets. These were speedily dislodged, " "and the movement for attacking the main body was at once " "commenced although somewhat impeded by our having to " "cross a nullah, which required to be partially bridged before " "our guns could cross over. This difficulty overcome our " "advance became a rapid one, and having come upon the main " "body a running fight was kept up for more than two hours " "and over more than five miles of country. In this advance "

* Now Colonel Sir Trevor Wheler, Bart.

1858. "the enemy was driven from village to village and eventually" "discomfited at Sahadit-Gunge, where we captured 5 guns," "complete, with bullocks and munitions of war, one elephant" "and much baggage."*

This skirmish is specially worthy of notice on two accounts. It was the last occasion on which the Regiment, under its time-honoured designation of 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, was engaged against the enemy; and, secondly, it was the first engagement in which Ensign Cavagnari—who had lately been gazetted to the Regiment—had been engaged; his Commanding Officer specially recording "with satisfaction the cool courage" of this promising young Officer, who, as Major Sir Louis Napoleon Pierre Cavagnari, K.C.S.I., nobly sustained at Cabul in 1879 the character he had established thus early in his career, and added one more to the long list of heroes who have shed lustre on the annals of the "Bengal European Regiment."

In March, 1859, the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers returned to their station at Dugshai, arriving April 18th, after two years as severe and continuous campaigning, as perhaps was ever experienced by any Regiment; and during which its Officers, and rank and file, had gained no less than five Victoria Crosses.

Lieutenant T. A. Butler, V.C.
Lieutenant Frank D. M. Brown, V.C.
Sergeant J. M. Guire, V.C.
Private J. McGovern, V.C.
Drummer M. Ryan, V.C.

The Sepahi Mutiny War was now over. The neck of the rebel Mutiny had been broken at Delhi, its heart had been plucked out at Lucknow, and its limbs had been severed from its carcase far and wide. The rebellion which had assumed such gigantic proportions, and caused British supremacy in India to tremble in the balance, had been fought out; and it will ever be remembered with pride that it was the 1st Bengal Fusiliers who led the main storming-party at the Siege of Delhi, fulfilling the confidence placed in them with courage and determination unsurpassed in British history.

* Extract from dispatch dated Durriabad, 31st October, 1858.

All honor, then, to the multitude of brave soldiers who gave 1858.
their lives and blood to uphold and extend the glory of England; and all honor to the Regiments who fought so well to retain under British rule those Indian Possessions of which England is so justly proud, and which form the brightest jewel in her Imperial Crown.

CHAPTER XX.

WHILST the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers was quartered at Durriabad—1858—a Proclamation* was issued by the Queen of England intimating that Her Majesty had assumed the Government of India from the East India Company; that the troops in the Indian Service would be transferred to that of the Crown; and, in 1861, a Royal warrant† directed the amalgamation of the European troops lately in the service of the Company with those of the Royal Army.

In 1857 the Regular Army of the East India Company numbered 237,476 soldiers; of whom 15,207‡ were enlisted in Great Britain.

The Company, which may aptly be described as having been a Republic under the suzerainty of the Crown of England, had ruled with liberality and consideration for the feelings and interests of its servants for upwards of 250 years; engendering feelings of regard and gratitude towards a highly-popular form of government. The conditions of its service suited the requirements of those younger sons who sought to be the fathers of their own fortunes; and to whom a Commission in the Indian Service was not only a provision for life, but promised a career to the deserving of honour and distinction.

* See Appendix D.

† See Appendix E.

‡ In addition to these troops in the Company's service, there were 24,263 soldiers of the Royal Army in receipt of pay from the East India Company.

Service in the ranks of the Company's European Army suited, 1858.
in many instances, not only the class from amongst which our recruits are usually obtained, but was adapted to those of all grades of life, who, for various reasons, wished to lose their identity, to disconnect the new from the old life, and to obtain employment in a land from which return to their native country was, in exceptional cases only, attainable. Of the many such who found their way into the ranks of the Company's European Regiments, by far the larger proportion became an honour instead of a disgrace to their country.

Rightly or wrongly, it was with feelings of apprehension that it was realized by a large number of the Company's servants that the time had arrived for a change which would uproot old associations, and possibly deprive them of privileges hitherto exclusively their own; and, further, there were far-seeing men who, as in Fox's time, dreaded that India, under the immediate control of the Home Government, might be sacrificed to party ambition; and even the safety of our Indian Empire jeopardized, to create a bubble popularity in the see-saw of public opinion at home. Finally, there were many who thought that the nomination of the Governor-General of India by a non-political body had been a guarantee that our Eastern Possessions would be protected from the danger of falling a prey to party politics in England, tending to lower the Governors of India and their officials in the estimation of its people.

The Company's Army had at all times been conspicuous for its loyalty and devotion to the Crown; having for centuries fought under the British flag, its soldiers ever foremost in the fight for England's honour; and it was no lack of loyalty that caused some of its servants to view with apprehension and dismay the change which had become inevitable.

It tells well for the internal discipline of the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers that, although after the annexation proclamation there followed an interregnum of years, during which the Officers

1858. of the European Regiments were removed to a general list, and directed to "do duty" only with their former Regiments, and although a large proportion of the Company's European Army was in a dissatisfied state, closely bordering on mutiny, there was no single instance of insubordination in the ranks of this Regiment.

Under the Royal Warrant the amalgamation of the Indian with the British Armies was effected; the Officers and men of the Indian European Regiments being invited to volunteer for general service. The Commissioned Officers were guaranteed, under Act of British Parliament, all the retiring and other privileges which they had held under the East India Company; the rank and file being offered a bounty for volunteering, and to count their former service for pension.

It was further announced that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers the honourable designation of the "101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers;" the 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers being nominated the "104th Bengal Fusiliers."

The volunteering of the 1st Bengal European Regiment took place on May 2nd, 1861, when the following 17 out of 39 Officers with 588 rank and file volunteered for the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers:—

Major	A. Hume,	Lieutenant	M. Hall,
Captain (Brevet-Major)	F. O. Salusbury,	„	T. A. Butler, V.C.,
„	E. Brown,	„	N. H. Wallace,
„	G. C. Lambert,	„	F. D. M. Brown, V.C.,
„	R. G. F. Hickey,	„	W. S. Jervis,
„	N. T. Parsons,	„	W. H. Warner,
Lieutenant	L. B. Magniac,	„	J. C. Partridge,
„	J. W. Daniell,	„	G. H. Holley,
		„	T. E. Harden.

LIST OF THE FIRST OFFICERS OF H.M. 101st REGIMENT (ROYAL BENGAL FUSILIERS).

"Plassey," "Buxar," "Guzerat," "Deig," "Bhurtpore," "Afghanistan," "Ghuznee," "Ferozshah," "Sobraon," "Pegu," "Delhie," "Lucknow."

RANK.	NAMES.	RANK.	NAMES
Colonel	—	Lieutenant	Nelson Ellis.
Lieut.-Colonel .	—	,,	G. S. Goad.
Major	A. Hume.	,,	H. H. Chapman.
,,	F. O. Salusbury.	,,	W. S. Jervis.
Captain	E. Brown (Bt. Mjr.)	,,	W. H. Warner.
	G. C. Lambert.	,,	J. C Partridge.
,,	R. G. F. Hickey.	,,	M. C. Smith.
,,	N. T. Parsons.	,,	J. S. Bagshaw.
,,	C. M. L. Clark.	,,	A. Harrison.
,,	H. G. Delafosse (Bt. Major).	,,	C. W. Riggs.
,,	H. C. Moller.	,,	G. H. Holley.
,,	S. A. Hunter.	,,	J. E. Harden.
,,	L. B. Maguiac.	Ensigns	C. Pakenham.
,,	J. W. Daniell.	,,	H. P. Airey.
,,	M. Hall.	,,	A. Peel.
,,	W. L. Louis.	,,	F. O. Fuller.
Lieutenant	T. A. Butler, V.C.	,,	R. H. A. Quinet.
,,	N. H. Wallace	,,	C. M Stockley.
,,	F. D. M. Brown, V.C.	Quartermaster .	E Farrant.

Uniform, Scarlet. Facings, Blue.

LIST OF THE FIRST OFFICERS OF H.M. 104TH REGIMENT (BENGAL FUSILIERS).

"PUNJAUB," "CHILLIANWALLAH," "GOOZERAT," "PEGU," "DELHIE."

RANK	NAMES.	RANK.	NAMES.
Colonel	—	Lieutenant ...	L. Smith.
Lieut.-Colonel .	W. Birch.	,,	T. A. Hunter.
Major	G. Gaynor.	,,	C. Pigou.
,,	J. Bleaymire.	,,	T. H. Lewin.
Captain	W. D. Harris (Bt. Mj.)	,,	C. M. Boswell.
,,	J. J. Hockley.	,,	W. R. Birney.
,,	C. H. E. Græme.	,,	H. M. Evans.
,,	C. Clark.	,,	M. G. Taylor
,,	D. W. Becher.	,,	H. Spalding.
,,	J. Hind.	,,	T. J. Quin.
,,	L. J. Trotter.	,,	H. Carter.
,,	A. Willes.	,,	W. H. Brind.
,,	J. G. Campbell.	,,	H. P. Evans.
,,	G. A. Bishop.	Ensigns	H. F. Showers.
,,	F. J. Conway-Gordon	,,	R. C. Richardson.
,,	C. K. Mylne.	,,	M. F. Stokes.
Lieutenant	Sir. A. K. Lake, Bt.	,,	H. J. Woodward.
,,	A. L. Douglas.		

Uniform, Scarlet. Facings, Blue.

The following 15 out of 41 Officers of the 2nd Bengal European Regiment volunteered for H.M. 104th Bengal Fusiliers:— 1858

Captain (Brevet-Major) G. Gaynor,		Lieutenant G. A. Bishop,	
Captain (Brevet-Major) J. Bleaymire,		„	Sir A. K. Lake, Bart.,
„	W. D. Harris,	„	A. L. Douglas,
„	C. Clark,	„	T. A. Hunter,
„	D. W. Becher,	„	H. Spalding,
„	L. J. Trotter,	„	H. Carter,
Lieutenant A. Willes,		„	W. H. Brind,
		„	H. P. Evans.

Distinct reference has not been made to those European Regiments in the East India Company's service—both Cavalry and Infantry—which were hastily raised in England for service in Bengal in consequence of the Indian Mutiny; for these Regiments were in no way connected with the services of the Bengal European Regiment.

Owing to the immense interests at stake, and the vast numbers of individuals who were concerned, the process of amalgamation, commencing with the Royal Proclamation, November 1st, 1858, was not finally carried out until after a lapse of upwards of two years. During this interval serious complications arose, which, at one time, threatened to assume the form of a European Mutiny.

The troops, with some show of justice, put forward a claim to a "bounty" on transferring their services from the Company to the Crown; but on its having been announced that the "bounty" claimed was granted, all discontent disappeared, and the process of amalgamation was peaceably effected. His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief then issued the following General Order:—

"The General Commanding-in-Chief has received Her"

1858. "Majesty's commands to make known to the British Army "
"serving in India that the arrangements for consolidating the "
"European forces of the Crown in that country have now "
"been completed."

"His Royal Highness hails with satisfaction an event which "
"he trusts may be conducive to the best interests of the "
"Empire, whilst it will be of advantage to the troops whom it "
"may concern."

"He feels persuaded that the glorious deeds of arms for "
"which the Line and Local Troops have been ever conspicuous "
"will not be forgotten by them now that they are about to join "
"one united Army, and that the only feeling of rivalry which "
"will henceforth exist between the various corps will be a high "
"spirit of emulation as regards discipline and good conduct "
"during peace, and of gallant bearing and devotion, should their "
"services be hereafter called for in the field."

"In the name of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief most "
"heartily and cordially welcomes to the ranks of the general "
"service of the Crown, the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, "
"and soldiers of the local services of the three Presidencies in "
"India."

"GEORGE,"
"General Commanding-in-Chief."

Lieutenant-General A. B. Roberts, C.B., who had for many years commanded the Bengal European Regiment, was appointed its Colonel; and Lieutenant-Colonel (now Major-General) F. O. Salusbury, C.B., who had served in the Regiment since 1842, shortly afterwards assumed command of H.M. 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers; and under this latter Officer the Regiment took a prominent part in the Umbeyla Campaign, specially distinguishing itself on the 13th November, 1863, when, led by Colonel Salusbury, it carried at the point of the bayonet the "Craig's picket,"

a difficult position in the upper heights, which had fallen into the 1858
enemy's hands.* H.M. 101st Foot evinced throughout this campaign, the same courage, discipline, and efficiency for which, as the "Bengal European Regiment," it had ever been prominently distinguished.

On the 25th of February, 1862, new Colours were presented to the Royal Bengal Fusiliers in substitution of the last Colours of the 1st Bengal European Regiment (Light Infantry); which were handed over to the custody of the 101st Foot, by whom they were, on the 18th July, 1871, with all ceremony and reverence, deposited in Winchester Cathedral, where they now rest.†

In July, 1881, a general change in the nomenclature of the Regiments of the Line took place; the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers becoming the 1st, and the 104th Bengal Fusiliers the 2nd, Battalion of "The Royal Munster Fusiliers." Thus history repeats itself; the 1st and 2nd Bengal European Regiments are again united under one designation, and although its new title bears no reference to the country or service in which these Battalions gained such signal distinctions, we may rest assured that the "Royal Munster Fusiliers" will ever maintain the character for loyalty, discipline, and courage, inherited from its predecessor, the Bengal European Regiment.

RECAPITULATION.

"The History of the Bengal European Regiment; and How it Helped to Win India" has been told; its triumphs and its glories, its reverses and its failings, have all been faithfully recorded; its birth, infancy, and Military maturity forming perhaps the most varied and extraordinary narrative of the career of any Military body to be found in ancient or modern history.

* For a more detailed account of the Umbeyla Campaign see Appendix F.
† See Frontispiece.

1858. The Officers and soldiers composing the "Bengal European Battalion" entered upon their Military duties far from their Native land, and on arrival in India they found themselves embodied in the service of the East India Company, without the prestige, patronage, or support of their parental Government; their career embracing as varied records of Military adventure, hardships, daring, and victory as can be found in Greek or Roman history. Embarked in their profession, they had to advance into and subdue vast provinces, and even Kingdoms, supported by trained Armies, enormous wealth, and unknown resources. Engaged in these campaigns, they had to endure heat greater than that of Parthia or Persia; to traverse swamps and forests at least equal to those described by Tacitus in Germania or Holland; it may safely be said that in the early part of their history they had scarce a better or safer base of operations than Cortes or Pizarro; and that, in fact, they carried this base with them, in their own self-reliance, fortitude, and courage; and had these attributes failed, then there was nothing left but flight, dispersion, and death.

For many years of the East India Company's wars and conquests, the Bengal European Regiment, expanding at times into several Battalions, formed the main strength of the small Armies which conquered and annexed the vast provinces and kingdoms now forming the Presidency of Bengal; in whose fortunes, it may be said, rested the supremacy of British power and the foundation and consolidation of our Indian Empire in Bengal.

The achievements which led to this crowning result have been detailed in the preceding pages; but, in addition, we will take a panoramic view of the signal and glorious exploits of this Regiment.

Commencing with the defeat of Native Armies in Lower Bengal, they soon afterwards carried the British flag into the North-Western Provinces of India; deposed and appointed the Nawabs of Bengal, brought the Nawab Vazir of Oude, and even the Mogul

Emperor of Hindustan, as allies or suppliants into the British 1858.
camp. In this career they confronted, defeated, and pursued the Marathas and the Rohillas; dictated the Government of the kingdom of Oude; and replaced upon his apparently lost throne the blind and persecuted Mogul Emperor. Thus far we have glanced at the services and conquests in which the Bengal European Regiment took part in the early days of its career as against the Native powers; but, serious as were the dangers encountered and obstacles overcome, more serious and more dangerous were the wars in which the Regiment took part against the French and the Dutch for the possession of Hindustan; skilled Commanders, with well-disciplined Armies, took the field against the British, either as opponents with Native allies, or as subsidiary forces with Native Monarchs or Pretenders.

These campaigns, in which the Bengal European Regiment took so prominent a part, finally swept away the *fleur-de-lys* of France and the tricolor of the Dutch from the plains and Fortresses of India; and left England further unmolested by foreign interference, to pursue her career of dominion and civilization up to our own time.

But their victories were not confined to Bengal alone. Twice, under most critical circumstances, the Regiment went to the aid of the sister Presidency of Madras; and there, in two separate campaigns, vindicated the power and honour of the British arms against vastly superior numbers.

Then followed the battle and the storm of Deig, the disastrous first sieges of Bhurtpore, and the second Maratha and Pindarie Wars.

To these wars succeeded a comparatively long period of peace, during which were effected in the Regiment many improvements in internal economy, impracticable during the turmoil of war and camp life.

At the second siege of Bhurtpore the 1st Bengal European

1858. Regiment, in this state of efficiency, took a prominent part in the operations under Combermere; the final siege and capture of this Fortress, which in 1805 had resisted our repeated assaults.

After this memorable campaign there again followed a period of cantonment life of thirteen years, until the outbreak of the Afghan War in 1839, when the Bengal European Regiment formed part of the British Army of invasion under Sir John Keane; whose marches through deserts and passes, with the hardships endured, the assault and capture of the Fortress of Ghuznee, and subjection of Cabul, have been fully detailed.

But a short interval of peace intervened for the 1st Bengal European Light Infantry up to the sudden invasion of our territory by the Seiks in 1845; the Battles of Ferozshah and Sobraon, with the details of exploits and terrible sacrifice of life, have been recorded, as well as the expressions of gratitude received from H.M. the Queen, the Parliament of England, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Government of India.

In 1852, the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers and the 2nd European Regiment traversed India from Meerut to Calcutta, to embark for Burmah, where they took prominent part in the operations which led to the defeat of the Burmese, the capture of Rangoon, and the annexation of Pegu.

But four years of tranquillity until the outbreak of the great Indian Mutiny—1857—in withstanding and subduing the storm of which both the 1st and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers took such distinguished parts, from Budlee-ka-Serai, on the 8th June, through the investment, storm, and capture of Delhie, up to the termination of the war, October, 1858; including many minor and difficult operations.

The reader may probably have surmised that a Regiment born under such rude circumstances, and amidst such untutored surroundings, brought up in the distraction of campaigns, battles, and sieges, and scarcely in communication with Europe, might have been defective in the performance of Military duties, and

careless in many of the requisite accessories of Regimental training. Such, however, was by no means the case; for when these European Regiments were relegated to the British Crown, they were not in any Military attribute or social organization, a whit inferior to any Regiment in the British Line, past or present. 1858.

Into that Line, on the 2nd May, 1861, passed the Bengal European Regiment, with its decorations and its services richly emblazoned, gloriously renowned, and brightly coloured with that impalpable halo called Glory—the glory of Duty well performed.

VIVAT IMPERATRIX.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Decorations.

In the year 1828, the 1st Bengal European Regiment bore upon its Colours the following decorations:—

"Plassey," "Rohilcund," "Mysore," "Deig," "Bhurtpore."

The 2nd Bengal European Regiment bore upon its Colours the same decorations, with the exception of "Bhurtpore," at the siege of which it was not present.

In the year 1830, these Regiments appear in the "East India Register" as bearing the decoration "Guzerat" in substitution for "Mysore," and in 1831 "Buxar" was substituted for "Rohilcund." At this time the 2nd Bengal European Regiment had become the Left Wing of "The Bengal European Regiment."

Rohilcund.—The decoration "Rohilcund," was borne upon the Colours of the Regiment in commemoration of the two Rohilla campaigns, 1774 and 1794, in both of which the old 2nd Bengal European Regiment served before it was absorbed into the 1st in 1803, when the latter inherited the decoration; and it is unaccountable why "Rohilcund" should subsequently have been withdrawn.

Mysore.—Although the Bengal European Regiment was not present at any action fought in "Mysore," it had rendered singularly distinguished services against Haidar Ali, the ruler of Mysore, when he invaded the Carnatic. Full details of this campaign have been recorded in Chapter XI., and it appears highly probable that as no decoration—independent of medals—was, at the time, granted for the four years' campaign against Haidar Ali, that the word "Mysore" was subsequently placed on the Colours of the Regiment for the same service; some of the Regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry bore the word "Carnatic" on their Colours, but the decoration was not granted to H.M. 73rd,* the Bengal, or the Madras European Regiments, although the last was allowed to wear the decoration "Sholingur." It is clear, then, that if the Bengal European Regiment did not bear either "Mysore" or "Carnatic" on its Colours, it was entitled to "Sholingur," which was granted to the sister Regiment of Madras for the same service, and inherited by "The Royal Dublin Fusiliers."

Guzerat.—The decoration, "Guzerat," which is borne on the Colours of "The Royal Munster Fusiliers," and which was granted to the "Bengal European Regiment" in substitution of one of the decorations withdrawn, is in commemoration of the campaign in "Guzerat" in the Bombay Presidency, 1804–5. In the first "Guzerat" war, 1780, under General Goddard, no

* Afterwards the 71st Foot; now 1st Battalion Highland Light Infantry.

Bengal European soldiers were employed, and even had they served during that war no decoration was granted. In the second "Guzerat" campaign, 1804–5, under Colonel Murray, some of the Bengal Native Infantry Regiments served; and the decoration "Guzerat" was granted to such Regiments, but the "Bengal European Regiment" was at this time fighting, under General Lake, at the battle and siege of "Deig," and the unsuccessful assaults on Bhurtpore. The Regiment, not having been present during either of the campaigns in "Guzerat," was not entitled to the decoration.

Whilst reviewing the subject of "Decorations," prominent reference must be made to "Condore" having been placed on the Colours of the Madras European Regiment, and inherited by the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, in place of on those of the Bengal European Regiment, which was the only British Regiment employed in the campaign in the Northern Circars, under Colonel Forde, during which the memorable battle of "Condore" and the celebrated siege of "Mussulipatam" were fought. It is a crying injustice to the "Royal Munster Fusiliers" that it should be denied the Decoration, "Condore," to which it is clearly entitled.

The subject of the Decorations to which the Royal Bengal Fusiliers are entitled was referred, in April, 1883, by Colonel Montagu Hall (then commanding the Regiment) to the Horse Guards. The correspondence was forwarded to the India Office for report. Lord Kimberley states that "The Bengal European Regiment" was present at the action of "Condore," but the "Madras European Regiment" was not; and that, in his opinion, "Condore" should be placed on the Colours of the Royal Munster Fusiliers. *See* Appendix B, and G.O., Commander-in-Chief in India, November 22nd, 1868; also Military Department, Fort St. George, September, 1877, &c.

The Decorations to which "The Royal Munster Fusiliers," as successor to the 1st and 2nd Bengal European Regiments, is entitled, are as follows:—

"Plassey," "Condore," "Buxar," "Rohilcund," "Sholingur," "Deig," "Bhurtpore," "Afghanistan," "Ghuznee," "Ferozshuhur," "Sobraon," "Punjaub," "Chillianwallah," "Goozerat," "Pegu," "Delhi," "Lucknow."

APPENDIX B.

Governor-General's Tribute to H.M. 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers.

Headquarters, November 2nd, 1868. "The Commander-in-Chief in India" "has great satisfaction in publishing the Right Honourable the Governor-" "General's order, No. 1010, of October 30th, 1868, in favour of the 101st" "Royal Bengal Fusiliers."

"As shown by this order, the record of this Regiment contains the history" "of the advance of the British Arms from Calcutta to the Indus, and in-" "cludes many campaigns beyond the limit of India."

"It is with a feeling of no ordinary gratification that His Excellency is able "
"to assure the 101st Foot, when bidding the corps farewell, that in point of "
"order, discipline, and efficiency the Regiment, as now organized, is well "
"worthy of its glorious history."

"No. 1010, dated October 30th, 1868. The 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers "
"being about to proceed to England, His Excellency the Viceroy and "
"Governor-General in Council cannot allow this Regiment, the nucleus "
"of which has existed in this Presidency, in some shape or another, for "
"more than 200 years, and which has been formed as a Regiment, expanding "
"at times into several Battalions, for 112 years, to take its departure with- "
"out expressing in the strongest terms the appreciation of the Government "
"of India of its most valuable and distinguished services."

"Sucessively as the Bengal European Regiment, the 1st European Regi- "
"ment, the 1st European Light Infantry, and the 1st Bengal European "
"Fusiliers, the Regiment served the Honourable the East India Company for "
"more than 100 years; and besides being actively engaged in nearly every "
"part of its own Presidency, was detached to the Northern Circars of the "
"Madras Presidency in 1758, and has subsequently served out of Bengal, in "
"the Carnatic, in Java, in the Island of Celebes, in Afghanistan from "
"Ghuznee in one direction to Pushoot on the borders of Koonur in another, "
"and in Burmah."

"The distinguished conduct of the Regiment in the field as the senior "
"Battalion of Infantry of the Bengal Army was proverbial; and its Colours "
"are covered with the names of operations in which it bore a prominent "
"part. Some are not thus recorded, but the following list includes the more "
"important of the campaigns, battles and sieges in which the Regiment "
"has been engaged:—

"Defence of Fort William, against Suraj-o'-daulah in 1756, when four "
"Companies, of which the Corps was composed, were almost annihilated."

"Capture of the Fort of Budge Budge, recapture of Calcutta, battle of "
"Chitpore, siege and capture of Chandernagore, capture of the Fort of "
"Kutwa, and battle of Plassey, 1756-1757."

"Campaign against the French in the Northern Circars, in 1759, including "
"the battle of Condore, and the siege and capture of Musulipatam."

"Defeat of the Dutch force at Bedarrah, 1759."

"Campaign against the Emperor of Delhie 1760–61, including the battles "
"of Seerpore, Beerpore, and Suan, in which latter the French Mercenaries "
"were defeated, and their leader, the celebrated M. Law, taken prisoner."

"War against the Meer Kassim, ex-Nawab of Murshedabad, 1763–65, and "
"present at the battle of Manjee, near Patna, where four Companies "
"were overwhelmed and destroyed after a gallant resistance, battle of "
"Kutwah, capture of Murshedabad, battle of Gheriah, storm of the lines "
"of Oodwah Nullah, capture of Monghyr, siege and storm of Patna, action "
"near Patna, May 3rd, 1764, battle of Buxar, assault of Chunar, and battle "
"of Kalpee."

"In 1774, in the 1st Rohilla campaign, under Colonel Champion, including "

" the decisive action on St. George's Day of that year, when Hafiz Kehmut "
" was killed; four Companies employed against Hyder Allee in the Carnatic "
" from 1780–83, and present at the relief of Wandiwash, battles of Porto Novo, "
" Polilore, Solinghur, Veracundalore, relief of Vellore, battle of Arnee, and "
" siege of Cuddalore."

" Again employed in the second Rohilla war, under Major-General Sir "
" Robert Abercrombie, and suffered severely at the battle of Bittoorah, on "
" the 26th October, 1794."

" In Lord Lake's campaign against the Maharattas in 1804–5, at the battle "
" of Deig, siege and storm of Deig, and the first siege of Bhurtpore."

" In Java, from 1812–15, and in the Island of Celebes in 1816, a detach- "
" ment employed in the Terai during part of the Nepaul war, and two "
" Companies employed against the Pindaries, in 1817–18."

" The Right Wing of the Regiment at the siege and capture of Bhurt- "
" pore, 1826, and engaged in the assault."

" Joined the Army of the Indus in November, 1838, and served during "
" the first campaign in Afghanistan, 1839–44, and prominently engaged in "
" the storm of Ghuznie, a detachment was employed at the attack on the "
" Fort of Pushoot, in January, 1840."

" On the Seiks crossing the Sutledge, in December, 1845, the Regiment "
" moved from the hills by rapid forced marches, and was engaged at the "
" battles of Ferozshah and Sobraon, losing 20 Officers and 392 men, "
" killed and wounded."

" Engaged in the Burmese war, 1852, 53, and present at the recapture of "
" Pegu, relief of the Pegu garrison, and subsequent operations in the vicinity "
" of that place."

" In May, 1857, on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, moved with great "
" rapidity, notwithstanding the great heat, to Umballa, and thence marched "
" to Delhie, was one of the four Regiments of British Infantry that served "
" throughout the siege of that place, from the action of Budlee ka Serai, on "
" the 8th June, 1857, to the final capture of the city on the 20th September, "
" and was repeatedly distinguished specially in the assault, wehre it formed "
" part of the Column led by Brigadier-General John Nicholson. The Regi- "
" ment lost 14 Officers and 305 men, killed and wounded, at Delhie."

" Served subsequently during the latter part of 1857 and in 1858, at the "
" action of Narnoul, Gungeree, Pattiallee and Mynporie, at the siege and "
" capture of Lucknow, and in various minor affairs in Oude."

" These services, which can hardly be surpassed by those of any Regiment "
" in existence, were rendered when the corps belonged to the Army of "
" the Honourable East India Company."

" In 1861, the Regiment became H.M. 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers, and "
" since then as one of H.M. Regiments of the Line was employed in the "
" operations at Umbeyla in October, November, and December, 1863, and "
" well maintained its precious reputation in the various struggles with a "
" brave foe throughout that arduous service."

" The 101st Regiment now proceeds to England for the first time of home "

" service, and it leaves India full of honour, and with a reputation for dis- "
" cipline and efficiency, as the Governor-General in Council is assured by "
" H.E. the Commander-in-Chief, quite worthy of its character for "
" gallantry and endurance."

" The Governor-General in Council is convinced that, wherever the "
" 101st Regiment goes, it will maintain its ancient renown, and H.E. in "
" Council desires to assure the Regiment that the Government in India is "
" proud to send such a Corps to take its place in England with the Bat- "
" talions of Her Most Gracious Majesty there stationed."

" By order of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief,"
" H. E. LONGDEN, COLONEL,"
" *Adjutant-General.*"

APPENDIX C.

NOTIFICATION.

" FORT WILLIAM, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT."
30th June, 1853.

" In the proclamation by which the Province of Pegu was annexed to the "
" British Dominions in the East, the Governor-General in Council declared "
" that he desired no further conquest in Burmah, and was willing to consent "
" that hostilities should cease. Thereafter the Burman troops were "
" everywhere withdrawn. The King was dethroned by his brother, the "
" Mengdoon Prince, and an envoy was sent from Aven to sue for peace. "
" The Burman envoy, confessing their inability to resist the power of the "
" British Government and submissively soliciting its forbearance, announced "
" its willingness to sign a Treaty in accordance with the Proclamation, "
" objecting only to the frontier being placed at Meaday. The Government "
" of India, while it maintained its undoubtful right to fix the frontier where "
" it had been placed, at the same time gave signal proof of the sincerity of "
" its desire for the renewal of friendly relations between the states; for, in "
" the hope of at once concluding a treaty of peace, the Governor-General in "
" Council consented to withdraw the frontier from Meaday, and to place it "
" in strict confirmity to the most liberal wording of the Proclamation, "
" immediately to the northward of Prome and Toungoo cities, which have "
" been described at all times as within the Northern limits of Pegu, in the "
" official records of transactions between the two states."

" But when this concession was offered, the Burman envoy, wholly "
" receding from his previous declarations, refused to assent to any treaty by "
" which a cession of territory should be made. Thereupon the negotiations "
" were at once broken off, the frontier of the British territories was finally "
" fixed to the northward of Meaday and Toungoo, and the envoy was "
" directed to quit the camp."

" The envoy proceeded to the capital, whence he has now conveyed to "

"*the Government of India the sentiments and proposals of the Court of*" "*Ava.*"

"The King expresses his desire for the cessation of War. The King" "anounces that 'orders have been issued to the Governors of the districts'" "'not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Meaday and'" "'Toungoo, in which the British Government have placed their garrisons.'" "Furthermore, the King has set at liberty the British subjects who had" "been carried prisoners to Aven; and he has expressed his wish that 'the'" "'merchants and people of both countries should be allowed, in'" "'accordance with former friendship, to pass up and down the river for'" "'the purpose of trading.' Mindful of the assurance he gave that" "hostilities would not be resumed so long as the Court of Ava refrained" 'from disputing our quiet possession of the Province of Pegu, the' 'Governor-General in Council is willing to accept the pacific declarations' "and acts of the King as a substantial proof of his acquiescence in the" "proposed conditions of peace, although a formal treaty has not been" "concluded. Wherefore the Governor-General in Council permits the" "raising of the river blockade, consenting to the renewal of former" "intercourse with Ava, and now proclaims the restoration of peace. The" "Army of Ava will no longer be maintained on a war establishment. At" "the same time, a force will be permanently retained in Pegu, adequate" "for its defence and fully prepared for the event of war. The Governor-" "General in Council, while he announced the successive events of the war," "has gladly seized each fitting occasion for bestowing promptly on the" "several Officers whose services were mentioned with distinction, the" "cordial thanks and approbation of the Government of India. His" "Lordship in Council deems it unnecessary now to repeat in detail" "acknowledgments of individual merit that are still so recent; but he cannot" "close the record of this war without again conveying to the services" "generally an assurance of the admiration with which he has viewed the" "combined exertions, which under God's good providence, the supremacy" "of our power in the east has once more been asserted and upheld, (here" "follows the thanks of the Government to individual Officers)."

"In testimony of the sense that is entertained of the services and conduct" "of the combined force, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to" "direct that a donation of six months batta shall be issued to all the" "Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and men of the several Naval and" "Military forces that have been employed during the progress of the war" "with Burma. And it shall be the further care of the Governor-General" "in Council to bring their services and conduct under the special notice," "and to commend them to the most favourable consideration of Her" "Majesty's Government, and of the Honourable Court of Directors."

"By Order,"

"*(Signed)* J. P. GRANT,"

"Official Secretary to the Government of India."

APPENDIX D.

PROCLAMATION.

" VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain "
" and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, "
" Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, Queen, Defender of the Faith."

" Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the "
" advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in "
" Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the "
" territories of India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honour- "
" able East India Company. Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify "
" and declare that by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon "
" ourselves the said Government, and we hereby call upon all our subjects "
" within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, "
" our heirs, and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those "
" whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer "
" the Government of our said territories in our name and on our behalf."

" And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, "
" and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor "
" Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, "
" the said Viscount Canning to be our First Viceroy and Governor-General "
" in and over our said territories, and to administer the Government thereof "
" in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject "
" to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from "
" us through one of our principal Secretaries of State."

" And, we hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all "
" persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Com- "
" pany, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as "
" may hereafter be enacted."

" We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and "
" engagements made with them by, or under the authority of, the Honourable "
" East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously main- "
" tained; and we look for the like observance on their part."

" We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while "
" we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be "
" attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of "
" others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of the native "
" princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, "
" should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be "
" secured by internal peace and good Government."

" We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the "

" same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those "
" obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and con- "
" scientiously fulfil."

" Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging "
with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the "
desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it "
" to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none "
" molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, "
" but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; "
" and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under "
" us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or "
" worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

" And it is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever "
" race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, "
" the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and "
" integrity, duly to discharge."

" We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the Natives "
" of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we "
" desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the "
" equitable demands of the State; and we will that, generally, in framing and "
" administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and "
" customs of India."

" We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon "
" India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by "
" false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown "
" by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our "
" mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but "
" who desire to return to the path of duty."

" Already, in one province, with the view to stop the further effusion of "
" blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy "
" and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain "
" terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, "
" have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared "
" the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them "
" beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act "
" of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and pro- "
" claim as follows:—

" Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those "
" who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the "
" murder of British subjects.

" With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy. "

" To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them "
" to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their "
" lives alone can be guaranteed; but in appointing the penalty due to such "
" persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which "

" they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence "
" will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in "
" a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. "
" To all others in arms against the Government, we hereby promise uncon- "
" ditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our "
" Crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, "
" It is our Royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should "
" be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first "
" day of January next."
" When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be "
" restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, "
" to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its "
" Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their "
" prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment, our security; and in "
" their gratitude, our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant "
" unto us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our "
" wishes for the good of our people."
" Proclamation dated November 1st, 1858 "

APPENDIX E.

EXTRACT OFFICIAL PAPERS, FORT WILLIAM MILITARY DEPOT, APRIL 10TH, 1861.

11—DISPATCH 28. paras. 10, 11, 17, 23, 26. " It is desired by H.M.'s Govern- "
" ment to maintain as integral Regiments, the three oldest European Regi- "
" ments of the Bengal Presidency, and all of the three Regiments of the "
" Madras and Bombay Presidencies are to keep the men who are in each of "
" these Corps, and who may volunteer for H.M.'s General Service in the "
" Regiments, which, when transferred to the Line, will represent those to "
" which they now respectively belong."
" 13—H.M. having graciously determined to mark her estimation of the "
" services of her Indian Armies, by conferring the distinction of 'Royal' "
" upon three of the European Regiments, and by selecting for this honour "
" one Regiment from each Presidency, the selection of which has been left "
" by H.M. to the judgment and discretion of the Governor-General of India, "
" the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council has much gratification in "
" announcing that the following Regiments will henceforward bear the "
" honourable designation of 'Royal Regiments' ":—

" The 1st Bengal Fusiliers,"
" The 1st Madras Fusiliers,"
" The 1st Bombay Fusiliers."

" 14—The three older Regiments in the several Presidencies will thus be "
" converted into Regiments in H.M. General Army, and will be re-numbered "
" and designated as follows ":—

" The 101st Regiment of Foot (Royal Bengal Fusiliers),"
" The 102nd Regiment of Foot (Royal Madras Fusiliers),"
" The 103rd Regiment of Foot (Royal Bombay Fusiliers),"
" The 104th Regiment of Foot (Bengal Fusiliers),"
" The 105th Regiment of Foot (Madras Light Infantry),"
" The 106th Regiment of Foot (Bombay Light Infantry),"
" The 107th Regiment of Foot (Bengal Infantry),"
" The 108th Regiment of Foot (Madras Infantry),"
" The 109th Regiment of Foot (Bombay Infantry)."

" 15—DESPATCH 28, paras. 17, 23–26. The Corps transferred to H.M. "
" Service will retain all honorary distinctions which they have won. These "
" will be borne on appointments and Colours, or in the Army List, in such "
" manner as H.M. Government may think best suited to the arm of the "
" Service to which the Corps belong."

" 21—The immediate issue of bounty to men volunteering is hereby "
" authorized on their making the declaration appended to this G.O. before a "
" justice of the peace or magistrate."

APPENDIX F.

THE following is an account of the services of H.M. 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers whilst employed in the Umbeyla Campaign, 1863 :—

" In August, 1863, rumours were current of the disturbed state of our "
" relations with some of the frontier hill tribes in connection with the colony "
" of fanatics at Litana and Mulkol, and also of the uneasy feeling existing "
" amongst the hill tribes in Hayara ; it was therefore determined to send "
" the 101st Regiment into the Hayara hills, partly as a demonstration, and "
" partly for the recovery of the men's health, which, though it had gradually "
" improved since their arrival at Rawul Pinder, was still very unsatisfactory. "
" The regiment took up quarters at Abbottaba, and on the 4th October "
" orders were received from Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B., commanding "
" in Hayara, for the regiment to move across the Indus to a place in "
" Ensufyze called Swabage, and it was further directed that the regiment "
" must be at that place by the 14th of October, which was effected, although "
" the marches were very difficult. It was well known that whatever service "
" was to be performed the 101st would share in it, and the young soldiers, "
" for with very few exceptions the whole of the regiment was comprised of "
" very young soldiers, and had never seen service, burned with ardour for "

" their maiden fight, and remembering the gallant deeds of the old regiment "
" were eager to have their first brush with the enemy under the new colours "
" of the 101st. After a halt of a few days the camp was broken up, and the "
" force destined to enter the hills assembled on the 18th of October. In "
" addition to the 101st there were the splendid 71st Highlanders, under the "
" command of Colonel Hope, C.B., some Royal Artillery, and numerous "
" (though weak) native corps. On the 20th of October the Ensufyze Field "
" Force (as it was now designated) entered the hills under the personal "
" command of Sir Neville Chamberlain by the Umbeyla Pass, leading from "
" Ensufyze into the Chumla valley. The force arrived at the fort of the pass "
" after a most fatiguing march. The enemy were quite taken by surprise, or "
" otherwise the pass could not have been forced without much labour and very "
" severe loss, in consequence of the natural difficulties and many splendid "
" opportunities offered for defence, there being on each side, within gunshot, "
" hills which were almost inaccessible. The pass itself was filled with dense "
" jungle and enormous stones, an immense water-course running down the "
" centre. The troops could only move in single file At first there were no "
" signs of the enemy, but after the first three days they appeared in vast "
" numbers and lost no opportunity of attacking the position of the British "
" troops. The duties imposed on our troops were very severe indeed, far "
" harder than usually fall to the lot of soldiers; for nearly four weeks the "
" men never had their accoutrements off, save for the purpose of washing, "
" and for five weeks no tents were pitched, the men lying on the bare "
" ground without a covering of any kind. On the 13th of November, the "
" 101st, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Salusbury, carried a position in the upper "
" heights on the right defence called the Crag picquet, which had fallen into "
" the hands of the enemy, and which so long as they held it commanded our "
" upper camp entirely. The loss to the 101st was 5 killed and 26 wounded, "
" and the Regiment received the thanks of the General Commanding for "
" this exploit. On the 18th of November the General changed his position "
" on the left heights and established himself on the right heights. The "
" enemy then made several attacks, and inflicted considerable loss on the "
" British forces. Amongst those killed was Lieutenant Chapman, Adjutant "
" of the 101st. Lieutenant Chapman was as gallant and noble a soldier as "
" ever wore the British uniform, and although he was mortally wounded, he "
" knelt down beside Captain Smith, of the 71st, who had been badly shot, "
" and began to dress his wounds. He refused to be carried away, as he said it "
" was useless, he being mortally wounded, but he urged the removal of "
" Captain Smith. In the meantime the enemy made a desperate rush, and "
" both these officers fell into their hands and were hacked to pieces, their "
" heads being cut off and their bodies shockingly mangled. In Lieutenant "
" Chapman the 101st lost an officer of rare ability, of untiring energy, the "
" perfect type of an English gentleman and a British officer. On the 20th of "
" November the enemy made a most vigorous assault on the British position, "
" particularly against the Crag picquet, which was partly comprised of men "
" from the 101st Regiment. This was attacked by overwhelming numbers "

" and finally overpowered; the 101st lost two officers and eleven men killed, "
" and 25 wounded. The two officers killed were Ensign Algernon Sanderson "
" and Assistant-Surgeon Pill, both of whom behaved with marked gallantry. "
" On this day General Chamberlain was wounded, and the 71st (led by Colonel "
" Hope, C.B., who was also wounded) lost several men. About the 6th of "
" November the British forces received some reinforcements, amongst them "
" the 7th Royal Fusiliers and the 93rd Highlanders, half a battery of Royal "
" Artillery, with two or three native regiments, bringing the strength up to "
" nearly 9,000 men. General Garvock, commanding the Peshawur Division, "
" also arrived to relieve General Chamberlain of the command. On the 15th "
" the enemy's position was attacked, and the forces were divided into two "
" divisions of 2,500 each, the remaining 4,000 being left in charge of the "
" camp. The 101st behaved with great gallantry. Nothing could resist the "
" daring advance of the Regiment, and the men did not stop until the prize "
" was theirs In the assault only one was killed and 13 wounded. Other "
" engagements took place, the 101st rendering valuable service. The men "
" experienced great hardships, having to lie on the bare ground with only a "
" blanket to protect them from the rain. After a treaty had been concluded, "
" the Brigade to which the 101st was attached destroyed several villages "
" occupied by the " fanatics," the Brigade encamping again at Ensufyze on "
" the 1st of January, 1864. The Brigade was then broken up, and the 101st "
" left on its way back to quarters at Rawul Pinder, having in the campaign "
" lost 87 officers and men, killed and wounded. The officers wounded were "
" Lieutenant C. Rigge and Ensign C. Stockley. Brigadier Wilde, C.B., who "
" commanded the Brigade of which the 101st formed part, conveyed to "
" Lieutenant-Colonel Salusbury and the officers and men by general order "
" the high appreciation he entertained of the cheerful, high-spirited, willing, "
" and soldierlike manner in which all duties had been performed and all "
" hardships borne by the Regiment. Twice the Regiment did good service "
" under his command, first in retaking the Crag picquet on the 13th of "
" November, and secondly in storming the conical hill on the 15th of "
" December, 1863. Colonel Wilde testified to both officers and men having "
" faithfully done their duty with credit to themselves and honour to their "
" Regiment. The 101st marched into Rawul Pinder on the 11th of January, "
" 1864, and left on the 20th of December for Dugshai. On their departure "
" a general order was issued by Brigadier-General A. Tucker, C.B., express- "
" ing the high estimation in which he held this distinguished Regiment, and "
" his deep regret at its departure from under his command. He also spoke "
" of the exemplary conduct of the men, which he said reflected the highest "
" credit on Lieutenant-Colonel Salusbury and the officers. The Brigadier "
" went on to say that when detached from his Brigade to join the force "
" assembling on the frontiers, their cheerful alacrity in meeting and over- "
" coming all difficulties, their gallant bearing and their indomitable pluck "
" when brought hand to hand with the enemy was notorious, and it was with "
" peculiar gratification that he (the Brigadier-General) had placed on the "
" breasts of so many soldiers of this gallant Regiment the medal bestowed "

" on them by Her Majesty for ' distinguished service in the field.' Gallantly "
" had the 101st, in the recent campaign, maintained the fame of the old "
" 1st Bengal Fusiliers, whose various victories they bear inscribed upon "
" their present Colours."

APPENDIX G.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DOUGLAS SEATON TO CAPTAIN BIDDULPH, REGARDING THE SERVICES OF SURGEON-MAJOR J. P. BROUGHAM.

" THERE is one Officer who has been recently moved from the Regiment "
" to superior employ, whose great services I desire to bring prominently to "
" notice. Surgeon J. P. Brougham, M.D., is the Officer I allude to; it "
" is impossible to speak too highly of the professional services of Dr. "
" Brougham, no praise of mine can be too great for all he has done for "
" the officers and soldiers of this Regiment as its Surgeon to Delhi, and "
" from the day of its march from Dugshaie until he was appointed Field "
" Surgeon in September last, his exertions have been unwearied, unre- "
" mitting, and invaluable, the large number of wounded men, the numerous "
" cases of amputation, the remarkable success which attended all his opera- "
" tions, are well-known. I only allude to them to recall them to notice. "
" Let me mention that most unfortunate circumstances have alone pre- "
" vented the eminent services of Surgeon Brougham being brought "
" forward to notice; indeed, he with others have suffered much by the "
" following contingencies :—"

" Colonel Welshman, severely wounded at Delhi, sent away invalided, "
" unable to write a despatch."

" Major Jacob, killed at Delhi, no despatch from him."

" Colonel H. P Burn, Lieutenant-Colonel Dunsford, Captain Caulfield, "
" held command for too short a period to warrant their bringing Officers' "
" services to notice."

" Colonel Gerrard, killed at Narroul, no despatch."

" Brigadier Sir F. Seaton, in command for six weeks, too actively employed "
" to be able to review the services of the Regiment."

" Captains Cunliffe and Hume and Major Denniss, all on command for "
" short periods, and as temporary Commandants, did not feel themselves "
" justified in noticing the past conduct of their Officers without being "
" especially called upon to do so."

" May I, therefore, avail myself of the opening now offered me, and solicit "
" General Sir Hope Grant's recommendation of this most excellent and highly- "

" deserving Officer. I believe that the whole Regiment would be greatly "
" gratified to see that much-respected medical adviser and friend awarded. "
" So impressed am I from all I have been told of the value of Dr. "
" Brougham's services, I believe I am only doing him simply justice in "
" bringing his services to notice at this particular time. I believe the "
" General knows quite sufficient of Dr. Brougham to accept with kindly "
" consideration this appeal on his behalf."

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